THE LATE-MEDIEVAL THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TRANSLATION

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SOME MIDDLE ENGLISH LIVES OF CHRIST

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A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Ph.D

IN THE FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

MAY 1990

University of Bristol. Ian Johnson, 'The Late-Medieval Theory and Practice of Translation with Special reference to Some Middle English Lives of Christ' (May, 1990)

This is a comparative study of the presence and function of academic literary theory and ideology in translations of authoritative works, especially Middle English Lives of Christ, which were very numerous, varied, culturally central and literarily prestigious, using commentary-tradition and showing at times definite theoretical sophistication. They drew on fields of attitudes concerning literary authority, the literal sense, intentionality and value, form, structure, and theory of imagination, being influenced by the scholastic prologue and academic conceptions of literary roles (compiler, commentator, preacher). These ideas were frequently and flexibly exploited, and they were the norms for other English writers to use or subvert. I aim to show the importance of an academic literary sensibility in the late-medieval period and to show that such theory offers the modern critic valuable interpretative purchase, if applied unreductively. Special attention is given to the prologues and the translating in Love's Mirrour, the Speculum Devotorum, and the Stanzaic Life. Consideration is also given to the Wycliffites, Bokenham, Gavin Douglas, Orm, The Mirroure of Mannes Saluacionne, amongst others. Consideration is also given to the dominant assumptions of medieval grammatical thought.

Appendix I refutes the accepted theory that much of the Mirrour's supposedly original modifications actually came from an 'aberrant' Latin recension of the source.

Appendix II demonstrates how John Walton, in his popular English Boethius, behaves, in Bk III. met.12, like a poet-commentator, striving for a contemporary eloquence whilst drawing on the authority of commentary-tradition. In his prefaces, assuming a role of a wiser Orpheus, he marginalises Orpheus and the Chaucer of the Troilus for their excessive affectivity, presenting himself as a poet of Christian wisdom.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is about the contemporary attitudes and theory in what translators say and do when they treat the most important works of their age. The treatment of the gospels and of the most authoritative and commented-upon text outside the Bible, De Consolatione Philosophiae, were cognate tasks. Thus Appendix II, on 'Walton's Sapient Orpheus', which has been published in The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translations of De Consolatione Philosophiae edited by A.J. Minnis (Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge and Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, 1987) 139-68), , is part and parcel of the thesis. Appendix I, 'The Latin Source of Nicholas Love's Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ: a Reconsideration', which has been published in Notes and Queries NS 33 (1986) 157-60, is the outcome of doctoral research necessary to be accomplished before Love's behaviour as an original translator could be further studied.

Firstly, I would like to thank very much Professor Alastair Minnis, my original supervisor, for all his stimulation, kindness, encouragement, and patient, energetic and endless personal support. I am also most grateful to Professor John Burrow, my current supervisor, for all his generous (and speedy) help, advice and encouragement.

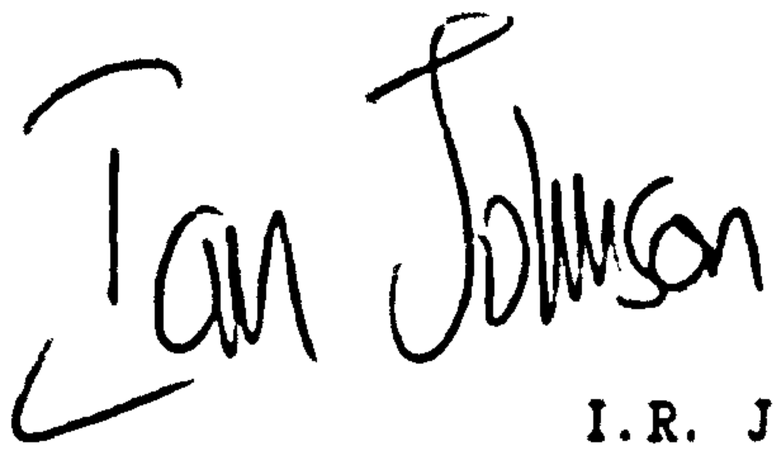
I would also like to acknowledge the lively intellectual stimulation I have had in my time as a postgraduate from the staff of the University of Bristol Department of English, Mr Ian Bishop, Dr Basil Cottle and Dr Myra Stokes. Dr Malcolm Parkes has provided much generous advice and information. For a range of comments, discussion, advice or practical help, I am grateful to Professor Michael Alexander, Mrs Dorothy Black, Dr Rita Copeland, Dr Peter Davidson, Dr Roger Ellis, Mrs Sylvia Halley, Mr Geoffrey Hargreaves, Mr Tony Hunt, Mr George Jack, Dr Tim Machan, Mr Simon Mitchell, Professor Derek Pearsall, Mrs Patricia Richardson and Dr Clive Sneddon. I would also like to thank the library staff at Bristol and St Andrews, and also the University of St Andrews Bindery.

I was most fortunate, in my second year, to be supported from the funds of the University of Bristol when I had no grant.

I would like to thank very much my parents and grandparents for support of all varieties, and especially my wife Sarah.

DECLARATION

I declare this dissertation to be entirely my own work



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ABBREVIATIONS

EETS ES — Early English Text Society, Extra Series

EETS OS — Early English Text Society, Original Series

Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* — A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London, Scolar Press, 1984).

Mirrour — Nicholas Love, *The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, edited by Lawrence F. Powell (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908).

PL — *Patrologia Latina*, edited by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844-64). References are to numbered columns.

Salter, *Nicholas Love's Myrrour* — Elizabeth Salter, *Nicholas Love's Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, Analecta Cartusiana 10 (Salzburg, Universität Salzburg, 1974).

Speculum Devotorum — *The Speculum Devotorum of an Anonymous Carthusian of Sheen*, edited by James Hogg, Analecta Cartusiana 12 -13 (Salzburg, Universität Salzburg, 1973-74).

STS — Scottish Text Society

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

I. MEDIEVAL TRANSLATION, ACADEMIC LITERARY THEORY, AND MIDDLE ENGLISH LIVES OF CHRIST

Most medieval English literature is translation of one kind or another. In the later Middle Ages is found an increasing interest in the process of translation itself, as is witnessed by debates and writings on the subject. Often these involve the Bible: this is the age of the Wycliffite Bible. It is also a time of the increasing prestige and use of the vernacular. Literary translation often attracted prestige: Geoffrey Chaucer was praised by the French poet Eustache Deschamps, not so much as a poet, but as the 'great translator'.[1] Translation was a way, perhaps *the way*, of literary life. In England, Latin, French, and English were different languages related in an extensive literary culture. The literature of France, which provided models for the English, had a strong tradition of translation, the more notable exponents being Jean de Méun, Nicole d'Oresme, Jean de Vignay, Laurent de Premierfait, Pierre Bersuire, and the translator of the Ovide Moralisé, among others. There were also many French Biblical translations. French translators often describe their activities using terminology and attitudes which originated in the academic appraisals of the texts of the *auctores* as studied in the medieval schools and universities.

The question is whether such scholastic literary attitudes significantly affected late-medieval English literary translation, and what they can tell us about it in general. To test the significance of such medieval literary theory it is fitting that Middle English Lives of Christ are examined. These are suitable because they occupied an unironizable, central and authoritative position in medieval English culture, as is witnessed by the fact that some twenty-four Middle English Lives survive in a plethora of manuscripts and Early Printed Books.[2]

These Middle English Lives of Christ are immensely varied in the ways in which they treat the holiest of lives and in the types of audiences that they appear to have catered for. For example, the Life and Passion poem in Jesus College MS 29 appropriates the style of the *chanson de geste*.[3] The Pepysian Gospel Harmony (c.1400?) was probably a book of private devotion and is divided into sections suitable for daily use.[4] The late fourteenth century Stanzaic Life of Christ moralises and expounds and divides themes after the manner of the sermon in order to elucidate the life of Jesus.[5] Nicholas Love's Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, written before 1410, is didactic, meditative and draws also on homiletic materials.[6] The fourteenth century translation of Hoveden's Philomena is almost not a Life of Christ because it is rather fractured into lyrical reflections.[7]

Indeed, then, Middle English Lives of Christ differed amongst themselves, but as instances of a culturally central, authoritative, and prestigious genre, they had one paramount function in common, that of instruction in the vernacular in the all-important words and works of Christ. Another important function which featured more prominently as the Middle Ages progressed was that of stirring the soul affectively towards the love of God by a sympathetic rendering of Christ's life and particularly His Passion. The very number and diversity of the Middle English Lives can be seen as a measure of the general demand for them by their various audiences. Variety within this genre is normally indicative of the spiritual and educational capabilities (in the opinions of the clerical translators) of the intended audience and readership. The different versions are to be regarded as truly complementary. Holy Writ could be and had to be expounded in diverse manners to diverse people for diverse purposes. Each Middle English Life of Christ was a variation of the treatment of the one supremely important life and its teachings. All Christians needed to know and believe it. However, different Christians were deemed capable of knowing and believing according to their limitations, duties, needs, and situations in life. A translator would have in mind whether his audience were learned or 'simple', lay or enclosed religious, male or female, readers or hearers. Such complementary variety was rooted in a common conception of what was right for any given audience.

Moreover, it was a truism of academic literary theory that the Bible had a multiple mode of communicating truth to accord to the varying capacities and situations in life of the audience. Alexander of Hales in his Sum of Theology is a case in point.

> The understanding may be slow, it may be quick, or it may be moderately quick. So, the truth must be taught in different ways and in a different form to the slow, quick, and moderately quick understanding, so that what the slow intellect does not understand in one form it understands in another. Besides, the simple-minded young must be instructed in a different way from those who are fully adult. As the Apostle says in I Cor.3:1-2: 'I have given you milk to drink, not food, as you are little children in [your knowledge of] Christ. For you were not yet able for food, nor are you able now'. For this reason a mode which takes many forms is necessary.[8]

Likewise Bonaventure in his Breviloquium saw an interlinking of manifold meaning and form with audience-diversity, though all hearers must be properly morally disposed:

> This manifold meaning of Scripture is appropriate to the hearer. For no one is a fitting hearer of Scripture unless he is humble, pure, faithful, and attentive... And, because the recipients of this

teaching do not belong to any one class (*genus*) of people, but come from all classes - for all who are to be saved must know something of this teaching - Scripture has a manifold meaning so that it may win

> over every mind, reach above the level of every mind, rise above every mind, and illuminate and fire with its many rays of light every mind which diligently searches for it.[9]

A little later in the same work he treats in similar vein of the mode of procedure of the Bible, which is both multiple and uniform, the uniformity proceeding from authority:

> Among all the many kinds of wisdom which are contained in the width, length, height, and depth of Holy Scripture, there is one common way of proceeding: by authority. Grouped within it are the narrative, preceptive, prohibitive, exhortatory, instructive, threatening, promising, supplicating, and laudatory modes. All these modes come within the scope of that one mode, proceeding by authority, and quite rightly so.[10]

Henry of Ghent in the Sum of Ordinary Questions agreed with such views: 'each may take it in according to his capacity'.'' Because of this superabundance of form and meaning, makers of Lives of Christ, by selecting their expositions accordingly,

could produce a text which concentrated more or less on a single audience, or which reworked the Bible in a such a way as to be capable of being read at different levels according to varying individual capacities. There was no one right way of making a Life of Christ.

Complementary variety was also rooted in the harmonious diversity of the works of commentary and the Latin and French Lives of Christ used as sources by translators, for there was an orthodox tradition of following established authorities. Translators also exploited their choice of permissible roles, forms and procedures. These were to be found often in their rich and flexible tradition of literary theory and attitudes.[12] This was an academic tradition but it had a highly practical bent, and was readily put into use by some important translators. They did not and they could not avoid common medieval literary-theoretical concerns and habits derived from scriptural exegesis and the scholastic treatment of other authoritative texts. In putting Lives of Christ into the vernacular, translators turned to literary terminology and attitudes at once available, appropriable, prestigious and authoritative, which were to be found in the educational system, in commentaries and not only in the actual sources themselves but also in the tradition of the *Vitae Christi*. Here they found the wherewithal to help them translate properly and to justify their activity.

I am not, however, claiming that such texts can only be finally and comprehensively expounded by the modern critic by using such theory alone. This would be reductive. But an examination of Middle English Lives of Christ indubitably reveals the frequent presence of postures and terminology quite clearly of an academic origin. It can be demonstrated that in many important respects such theory is creatively used by the translators, sometimes to the point of self-consciousness or even display. Moreover, it offers the modern critic interpretative purchase. It is historically and theoretically appropriate to the texts in which it functions, and as such this approach has advantages over modern critical terms and norms. Modern critical practice might deem some medieval translators' renderings erroneous in their treatment of the gospels. However, an awareness of medieval exegetical tradition shows that the translators deliberately expounded the significance and the teachings of the text according to the priorities of their culture. There is much more to this kind of medieval translating than *just translating*, especially when it comes to the gospels.

II. THE LITERARY GENRE OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST

It is not necessary extensively to survey the history of the manifold genre of the *Vita Christi*, for it has been done adequately elsewhere.[13] Suffice it to say that the genre

developed fruitfully within the context of Latin culture from the earliest times. The tradition begins with Tatian's Diatessaron, written in Greek c.170, which strongly influenced Victor of Capua's sixth-century Latin harmony.'[14] Both these works contained no extra-Biblical material, for they were concerned with the harmonising of the four gospel accounts only. Likewise, St Augustine, in his important seminal treatise, De Consensu Evangelistarum, compared, contrasted and reconciled the four gospels.'[15]

The life of Christ became the basis of the liturgy and the Church year, especially with the evolving practice of reading from the Canonical Gospels, and preaching on them. The institution of this practice naturally gave impetus and authority to the production and use of further *Vitae Christi*. And so, as we move further into the medieval period, the harmonised gospels are presented with increased variety and potential uses, either, for example, as simple, relatively unadulterated harmonies like the Unum Ex Quattuor of Clement of Llanthony, or with historical exposition, as with Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica, which incorporates much didactic and legendary material, and which was important as a source for further reworkings of the life of Jesus.'[16] St Bernard, and the Franciscans who came after him, were at the forefront of a movement in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to present Christ as an object of affective devotion and meditation: works like St Bonaventure's Lignum Vitae and the Pseudo-Boneventurean Meditationes Vitae Christi are at

the centre of this tradition.[17] One of the most extensively known sources of the Life of Christ was the famous Legenda Aurea of Jacobus a Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa.[18] The fourteenth-century Speculum Humanae Salvationis was a typological Life, drawing key parallels between the Old and New Testaments.[19] The culmination of this medieval Latin literary tradition is the universal all-encompassing Life of Christ compiled by Ludolphus the Carthusian, which incorporates all previous approaches to the Life of Christ, Biblical narrative and legend, didactic comment, moralisation, theologising, mysticism, and meditation.[20]

The medieval English Lives of Christ, some of them dealing only with the Passion, mirror not only the central features of the larger Latin tradition but also the needs of their intended audiences. Elizabeth Salter has divided them into six groups according to their subject-matter and general approach: those consisting of more or less only Biblical material; those consisting of biblical narrative and didactic commentary at intervals; those paraphrasing the gospels and drawing on homily and legend (this being a large group); those like the previous group but significantly different in also being reflective or meditative (another large group); those consisting of lyrical reflection in which the narrative is almost lost sight of; and, finally, one Life incoporating a universality of approaches, the English rendering of Ludolphus.[21]

The literary strategies adopted by the translators of the Middle English Lives of Christ had one over-riding purpose in common: to communicate without corruption the *sententia* originating in and latent in the gospels and demanding to be expounded. It was a positive duty, not just a literary task, to spread Christian teaching on the life of Jesus for the benefit of others, with obedience to Holy Church and to orthodox teaching. The ethical preceded the literary.

In rendering the part of the Bible which was the ultimate in *auctoritas*, the most dangerous, most powerful, and the most necessary, the translators had two golden rules; firstly, the principle of security through *auctoritas*, or as the Speculum Devotorum-compiler puts it, 'þe grounde of the boke folowynge ys þe gospel & þe doctorys goynge thervpon'. [22] In other words we have something like an anxiety of influence writ upside-down, that is *an anxiety of not being properly influenced*, an anxiety of authority. This is complemented by the second golden rule, the principle of security through a good and morally pure intention, or as the writer of the Speculum Devotorum aptly puts it, 'hoso cunne not escuse the werke lete hym escuse the entent'(p.5).

But before proceeding further, consideration must be given to the dominant conception of authoritative translation in the later medieval period, when it was seen as being akin to commentary or exposition. In *the* great dictionary of the age, the Catholicon

of John of Genoa/Joannes Januensis/Giovanni de'Balbi (a glossator, fittingly, with a glossary of names!), it is stated that 'translation is the exposition of meaning/teaching through/by another language', ('translatio est expositio sententie per aliam linguam').[22] Translation, then, elucidates the *sententia*, that is the deeper meaning, the teaching, the significance, the *profundior intelligentia* of the text, not just its surface meaning. The target language is the means of this exegetical opening-up. *Expositio sententie* is carried in English renderings not only in the elaborations and extrapolations of the literal sense but also in the incorporation of commentary-materials and extensive discussions of the *profundior intelligentia*, the *sententia*.[24]

This definition, much broader than the modern understanding of translation, is serviceable in application to the enormous diversity of types of medieval translations. Tim Machan notes that Chaucer was, in medieval terms, a translator in respect of widely differing works. Medieval translation, he observes, encompassed everything from Troilus (in whose case it is impossible to describe its source-treatment in terms of syntax and lexicon) to the first version of the Wycliffite Bible, a literal gloss, and Trevisa's rendering of De Proprietatibus Rerum, 'which is a close translation but decidedly acceptable English at the same time'.[25] Though all are indeed different, all of them come together as vernacular expositions of the *sententia*, the deeper meaning of the original. In that this

diversity is an historical fact and ideologically grounded, it is best to recognise it and proceed from there. So, when Machan rightly comments that Chaucer, in his incorporation of commentary-tradition into his rendering of Boethius, provides 'evidence not for Chaucer's *translation* of the Consolatio - as Silk argued - but for his *interpretation* of it'[26], he is showing us why the word for 'translator' was 'interpres'. Translation and interpetation went hand-in-hand.[27]

This range of types of translations has implications for the way in which we should assess them. It is valid and valuable to study the traditional close-linguistic aspects of translation, for example doubleting, or the resolution of problematic Latin constructions and idioms, or shifts in word-classes and clause-types. This method of analysis, buttressed by theoretical linguistics and philology, has been privileged by the modern conception of translation as primarily an interlingual transfer of information, which is not the same as the medieval definition above. It is also valuable to see translation in terms of making a whole vernacular cultural artefact for intended audiences, something which necessarily entails adaptation and re-orientation of the matter and manner of the original, not just conservation of the literal sense or the naked word; for even if the literal sense were fully reproduced, the conditions of the work's reception and its audience in the vernacular culture would militate against formal equivalence. It is, for example, an integral part of a translation of the Life of Christ that non-

evangelical material describing the birth in maternalistic detail be included, as with the Speculum Devotorum (see below, pp.364-7). It is integral to the act of translation that anti-Lollard polemic and a treatise on the Eucharist be interpolated into Love's Mirrour (see note 18, p.288), for this is the political and theological filter through which an orthodox understanding of the subject-matter must be refracted to avoid error. Such 'additions' are part of translation, the purposeful and inevitable conditioning and moving of one text into another culture for another audience.

III. FORM AND STYLE AS EXPOSITION

It is true that the style of translations has received more attention than it merits.[29] This interest in the style of translation has traditionally been within the context of the history of the formation of English literary style under the influence of rendering from Latin and French, and not so much as something to do with translation itself. It is not wholly true to say that style becomes interesting only as a symptom of original work, and therefore not of translation. Choice of style (or genre) in the vernacular recasting of material can be significant, as a mode of communicating particular aspects of the source to a particular audience. Though the matter and its meaning (for an intended audience) constituted a controlling

principle, there was often considerable leeway, opportunity or even necessity for formal variation within such strictures. Whatever its generic affiliations, each individual Life of Christ always had the same invariant core of narrative material and was didactic and edifying. Its *sentence* could be rendered through, for example, sermon-form, like the Stanzaic Life of Christ, through typological allegory, like the Mirroure of Mans Saluacionne, through imaginative meditation, like Love's Mirrour and the Speculum Devotorum, or through affective lyricism, as with the translation of Hoveden.[29] Choice of genre was motivated by the translator's two choices of *which parts* of the superabundance of meaning to render for *which audience*. Genre imposes a mode of reading on the reception of the text, and predisposes the affections of the reader to be moved in a certain desired way - medieval exegetes held that literary *modi* were integral to the Bible. Even when an English Life of Christ sticks closely to its immediate source (say a French or Latin *Vita Christi*), without altering form, there is still a palpable difference between it and the four gospels, and this difference is *per se* expository. To translate is not just to replicate but to explicate. Generic choice is not to be dismissed as pertaining to mere originality, but should be acknowledged as pertaining to exposition, for it was as inevitable to medieval translation as is resolving clauses and forming doublets.

A good example of the expository intention in generic choice occurs with the thirteenth century poem in Jesus College Oxford

MS 29, which employs a most interesting procedure in expounding the life of Christ to its intended audience, and thereby confirming orthodoxy.[30] This poem is an accurate and systematic gospel harmony in rhyming couplets. It also appropriates and subverts the genre of the *chanson de geste*. Because his gospel-harmonising is so systematic and faithful, the translator is able to take liberties with the idiom of the *chanson de geste* for his own purposes of edifying Christians. The poet uses the popular idiom to interest and win over his audience, but he also does more. The piece begins thus:

Iherep nv one lutele tale. þat ich eu wille telle.
As we vyndep hit iwrite. in þe godspelle.
Nis hit nouht of karlemeyne ne of þe Duzeper.
Ac of cristes þruwinge. þet he þolede her. (ll.1-4)

The first word, before any subject-matter has been divulged, immediately establishes the poem in the genre of the orally-delivered tale. The poet uses the term 'lutele tale'. However, the last thing to be associated with the gospels would be a little tale as such. The very act of informing his audience that this tale is not about Charlemagne or his twelve retainers is a cunning way of saying that Christ can nevertheless be seen in terms of the *chanson de geste*, by virtue of having such a tale told about Him. The *Duzeper* correspond to Christ's own *Duzeper*, the twelve disciples. In the fourth line the hero of the tale is named, and his deeds, the matter of the tale, declared: 'ac of

cristes þruwinge. þet he þolede her'. Significantly, Christ's passive suffering is, by the use of the active verb 'þolede', accorded the status of an active feat as performed by a hero. A little later, the poet deliberately jars the convention again: 'Nv bigynneþ vre tale. nys hit no lesynge'(l.20). Though a medieval audience would know that a *chanson de geste* was obviously a fable, a medieval poet would habitually claim, somewhat formulaically, that his tale was true. However, in the case of this poem, this is applied to the story of Christ, which really is true. The poet 'cashes in' on the popular genre and gets the better of it. Moreover, Christ's heroism is of a different and superior order such that worldly heroes are thereby marginalised and so are the literary genre and values proper to them; for example, 'wel mylde weren his dede' (l.41). 'Mylde' is bathetic in following 'wel' and the noun it modifies and defines, 'dede', which, in this genre normally means an heroic feat. The moral connotation of the word 'mylde' undermines worldly heroes, who are anything but mild folk. In the same vein the poet does not miss the opportunity of showing his audience the humility of Christ as king and hero in contrast to the kings and heroes of the *chanson de geste*. The 'fowe' and 'gray' are rightly excluded from their own literary genre:

> Þo he com toward ierusalem. a palme sune-day.
>
> Ne hedde he none robe. of fowe. ne of gray.
>
> Ne he nedde stede. ne no palefray.
>
> Ac rode vppe on asse. as ich eu segge may. (11.65-68)

The contrast is made all the more emphatic by the deliberate pointing in the manuscript by which each royal attribute is inventoried one by one. The passage is completed by the formulaic tag indicating oral delivery, 'as ich eu segge may', which is normally only pleonastic. Here, however, it is subverted and defamiliarised because, deprived of its pleonastic function, it literally means what it says. The bluff of the genre is called, and called from a position of complete authority of gospel harmony and orthodox interpretation.

Although this exposition of the life of Christ does not, like other vernacular treatments, draw on additional glossatory or homiletic materials, it can still be called an *expositio*. Exposition is achieved through the transformation of materials by exploiting another genre. In translating into the English language, the poet translates purposefully into another generic language. He appropriates and expropriates the *chanson de geste* norms by virtue of *auctoritas*. To modify Bonaventure's definition of the commentator (see below, pp.51-52), a literary idiom is annexed to the principal gospel material in order to confirm it.

And so, genre and style, or as the medievals put it with greater generality, the 'form of treatment' ('forma tractandi (see below, p.109), does matter in consideration of translation. Not for nothing did Walton overgo Chaucer's prose Boece by

translating Boethius into eloquent stanzaic form, for this was closer to the eloquence integral to the original (see generally Appendix II, below).

IV. *TRANSLATIO*, METAPHOR AND TRANSLATION

A close relationship between metaphor and translation for Chaucer and his contemporaries has been posited in recent years.[31] There are, however, problems with this approach.

It is understandably tempting to forge a relationship between what is in modern critical eyes a low-prestige activity, translation (belonging to a low-prestige historical period, the Middle Ages), and the appealing concept of metaphor. Metaphor is so often associated by the twentieth century with what is literary, original, strange-making and imaginative, let alone theoretically interesting. According to Rita Copeland, the identification of metaphor and translation 'represented a realization (either at the local linguistic scale of metaphor or at the larger recreative scale of translation) of the hermeneutical function within the rhetorical act of *inventio*'.[32]

To make such a point about the recreativeness and recontextualisation common to metaphor and translation is to do no more than reapply a general point about language, a point

which does not specifically illuminate or isolate a particular relationship between metaphor and translation. 'Both [metaphor and translation]', it is claimed, 'as linguistic acts of turning meaning, are acts of interpretation'.[33] But, it may be commented, they are such *different* acts of interpretation. Indeed, it is what they do not share that gives them their identity. Metaphor, especially in its medieval sense of *translatio* (meaning a transferred sense or an intentional defamiliarisation through unusual language-use, (see below, p.81), substituted something else for the 'literal'-sense referent. Such *translatio* is not the prime aim of translation, which attempts to preserve the literal unmetaphorical sense, and perhaps extrapolate on that, not to displace it with metaphor.

It is true that the Latin word for metaphor is *translatio*, but medieval dictionary tradition, as witnessed through the Magnae Derivationes and the Catholicon, is very clear about the separation of the two senses of 'translatio'. The Catholicon deals with translation under heading of 'interpres' for the treatment of the sense of rendering from one language to another.[34] There was, it would appear, no overlap between the two senses of the word because each had a separate semantic domain. That the senses of metaphorical transference and interlingual interpretation were not interrelated, let alone synthesised, in such an age of prolifically inventive, not to say promiscuous, etymologising explication and linguistically-realist morphosemanticism, is itself significant. There is no sign of

even a tenuous linkage or mock-linkage. Even if an example or two were found, their very rarity would dent their claims for cultural centrality. Nowhere in a vernacular translator's prologue or text is there a hint of a relationship between metaphor and translating from one language to another; nor, to my knowledge, are the two linked in any rhetorical treatise or grammatical text.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Deschamps's famous remark, with an English translation, is to be found in Chaucer: The Critical Heritage, edited by Derek Brewer, 2 vols (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), vol. 1, pp.40-41.

2. See Elizabeth Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, Analecta Cartusiana 10 (Salzburg, Universität Salzburg, 1974) pp.73-118.

3. An Old English Miscellany, edited by R. Morris, EETS OS 49 (London, Oxford University Press, 1872) 37-57.

4. Pepysian Gospel Harmony, edited by M. Goates, EETS OS 157 (London, Oxford University Press, 1922 (for 1923)).

5. A Stanzaic Life of Christ Compiled from Higden's Polychronicon and the Legenda Aurea Edited from MS. Harley 3909, edited by F.A. Foster, EETS OS 166 (London, Oxford University Press, 1926).

6. Nicholas Love, The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, edited by Lawrence F. Powell (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908).

7. See Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.114-16.

8. Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c.1100-c.1375: The Commentary-Tradition, edited by A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott, with the assistance of David Wallace (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988), p.219.

9. ibid., p.234.

10. ibid., p.235.

11. ibid., p.255.

12. For an extensive survey of scholastic literary theory, see A.J. Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages (London, Scolar Press, 1984).

13. See Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.55-118; and the unpublished draft typescript introduction to The Speculum Devotorum of an Anonymous Carthusian of Sheen, edited by James Hogg, Analecta Cartusiana 12-13 (Salzburg, Universität Salzburg, 1973-74), pp.cxxiv-cxxvi. I am grateful for access to this.

14. Tatian's work is extant not in the original but in an Arabic translation, published in Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmonia Arabice (Rome, 1888), cited by Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, p.57. Victor of Capua is printed in PL 68, 251-358.

15. PL 34, 1041-1230.

16. For some MSS of the former work, see Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, p.60. The Historia Scholastica is printed in PL 198, 1049-1722.

17. Opera Omnia Sancti Bonaventurae, edited by A.C. Peltier (Paris, Ludovicus Vives, 1868), vol. 12, 67-84 for Lignum Vitae and 509-630 for the Meditationes Vitae Christi.

18. See Iacobi a Voragine: Legenda Aurea, edited by Th. Graesse, 3rd edition (Leipzig, 1890, repr. Osnabrück, Otto Zeller, 1965).

19. See M.R. James, Speculum Humanae Salvationis: A Reproduction of an Italian Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1924).

20. This has been edited by A.C. Bolard, L.M. Rigollot, J. Carnandet (Paris and Rome, 1865), cited by Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, p.63.

21. Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.73-118

22. Speculum Devotorum, p.9.

23. John of Genoa, Catholicon, s.v. glossa (Venice, 1483) unfol. For the importance in medieval times of the Catholicon, see Nicholas Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages (London, Methuen, 1973) p.93.

24. See Appendix II of this thesis, 'Walton's Sapient Orpheus', for a discussion and examination of the relationship between the roles of commentator and translator and a demonstration of Walton at work rendering an *expositio sententie* of Boethius. In order to elucidate the *sentence* of his *auctor* Walton draws on glosses from Nicholas Trevet's massively influential commentary on De Consolatione Philosophiae, sometimes incorporating Trevet's glosses in his English text rather than

translating the literal sense of Boethius. See also A.J. Minnis, '"Glosynge is a glorious thing": Chaucer at Work on the Boece', in The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translations of De Consolatione Philosophiae, edited by A.J. Minnis (Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 1987) 106-24; and M.B. Parkes, 'Punctuation, or Pause and Effect', in Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric, edited by James J. Murphy (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1978) 127-42, esp. p.131.

25. Tim William Machan, Techniques of Translation: Chaucer's Boece (Norman, Oklahoma, Pilgrim Books, 1985) p.9.

26. ibid., p.103. See also in general Appendix II of this thesis.

27. See my discussion of this in the appropriate section of Chapter III, 'Middle English Lives of Christ and the Rôle of the Commentator', pp.70-83.

28. See Roger Ellis, 'The Choices of the Translator in the Late Middle English Period' in The Medieval Mystical Tradition: Papers read at Dartington Hall, July 1982, edited by Marion Glasscoe (Exeter, Exeter University Press, 1982) 18-46, p.34. Salter, in Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.179-321, and Samuel Workman, Fifteenth Century Translation

as an Influence on Middle English Prose (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1940), are essentially responding to the critical tradition going back to R.W. Chambers, On the Continuity of English Prose, EETS OS 191A (London, Oxford University Press, 1932).

29. See Stanzaic Life ed. Foster as cited in note 5 above; also Mirroure of Mans Saluacionne, edited by A.H. Huth (London, Roxburghe Club, 1888); and for the English rendering of Hoveden, see Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ, edited by Charlotte D'Evelyn, EETS OS 158 (London, Oxford University Press, 1921).

30. An Old English Miscellany, ed. Morris, as cited in note 3 above. See also the short discussion in Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.73-76.

31. Rita Copeland, 'Rhetoric and Vernacular Translation in the Middle Ages', Studies in the Age of Chaucer 9, edited by Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1987) 41-75; and Eugene Vance, 'Chaucer, Spenser, and the Ideology of Translation', Canadian Review of Comparative Literature 8 (1981) 217-38 217-38.

32. Copeland, 'Rhetoric and Vernacular Translation', p.43.

33. ibid., p.42.

34. Catholicon, s.v. interpres (Mainz, 1460, repr. Westmead, Gregg, 1971), unfol.

CHAPTER TWO

MEDIEVAL GRAMMATICAL TRADITION AND TRANSLATION

Medieval grammatical theory was important to translators, because it assumed that grammar and syntax had the function of referring to the concepts of the mind and realities. A perfect construction was not just a matter of formal grammatical and syntactical correctness; it was the complete expression of an intended thought. In brief, the orthodox attitude to language was homologous to the late-medieval exegete's belief in the primacy of the literal sense as intended by the author. As Bursill-Hall puts it, 'the medieval grammarian argued that anything that can be grasped by the mind can be expressed by language'.[1] And so, in the late Middle Ages, grammar became the concern of the philosopher.

The men who made the vernacular lives of Christ would have all had to study grammar as schoolboys, and, in many cases, at a more advanced level in the universities or cathedral schools. Late-medieval grammatical thinking exhibited considerable homogeneity, in grammar schools and at more advanced levels, in its basic assumptions about language and how grammar related to the mind and to the realities expressed by utterances. Developments in grammatical theory, though they drew on the logic and the philosophy of the schoolmen, were nevertheless firmly based on

the parts of speech as defined by Priscian and Donatus, the twin pillars of medieval grammatical tradition.[2]

Donatus was used to teach boys, whereas Priscian was used at more advanced levels. The most popular teaching-manual for teaching Latin grammar was the Doctrinale of Alexander de Villa Dei (c.1200). Consisting of 2645 hexameters it was a highly seviceable memory aid.[3]

However, the medieval interest in grammar was not merely pedagogic. Bursill-Hall notes that there are extant at least three thousand different grammatical treatises, and he goes on to refer to what he calls

> ...the period of grammatical speculation, one of the most exciting periods in the history of linguistics... We can...point to grammarians of distinction who belong to this period, e.g. William of Conches, Petrus Helias, Ralph of Beauvais, Petrus Hispanus, all of the 12th century; Jordan of Saxony, Nicholas of Paris, Robert Kilwardby, Roger Bacon, the Modistae, all of the 13th century. Add to these the glossators Papias, Hugutio of Pisa, Osbern of Gloucester, Villelmus Brito, John of Genoa; teachers of grammar, John of Garland, Alexander de Villa-Dei, Eberhardus Bethuniensis, Hugo Spechtsart, Ludolfus de Luckowe, to mention but a few; the scores of

treatises on grammar and syntax, commentators on Donatus and Priscian, the many commentaries on the Doctrinale, the Graecismus, on John of Garland's prolific writings, all are part of a rich tradition; little wonder then that Robins could refer to the feverish nature of contemporary grammatical research...[4]

In the twelfth century, William of Conches expressed dissatisfaction with Priscian. William wanted more than grammatical description alone. He complained of Priscian's neglect of the 'causal basis of various parts of speech and their accidents': ('causas vero inventionis diversarum partium et diversorum accidentium...praetermittit'.) [5]

In MS Bib. Nat. Lat. 16297, fol.131 we find a statement in keeping with William's complaint. 'It is not the grammarian but the philosopher who, carefully considering the specific nature of things, discovers grammar'.[6] ('Non ergo grammaticus sed philosophus, proprias naturas rerum diligenter considerans...grammaticam invenit'.)[7] This ties in generally with an orthodox Neo-Platonic belief in the discoverability of concordance in the universe. Increasingly, grammar became accountable to other disciplines. After all, it had its place in the *trivium* in an interdependent relationship with rhetoric and logic. Schoolmen were concerned to unify these disciplines, each discipline playing its part in the same scheme of knowledge.

When premises for the traditional grammar were increasingly sought and found outside grammar then grammar acquired something of a philosphical bent, which fostered at more humble educational levels an understanding of language as moderately realistic. However, this grammatical speculation served not to undermine Priscian and Donatus but to explain and re-inforce them in terms of the 'laws of thought' and 'the nature of things'.[8] As Robins puts it,

> In essence, the grammar of Priscian and Donatus was presented as an accurate reflection of the constitution of reality and the powers of the human mind, on which it depended... Every part of speech, or class of words, is distinguished by its representing reality through a particular mode or from some particular point of view; and every category applicable to any word class is itself a mode contributing its own semantic component.[9]

Grammar, according to John of Salisbury in his Metalogicon, though not itself natural, imitated nature, representing realities. Therefore:

> Upon reflection, one sees that this imitation of nature also maintains in other parts of speech... Since a substance presented to our senses or intellect cannot exist without some movement [or

changel, whereby it undergoes temporal change by acting or being acted upon, verbs have been invented to denote the changes occurring in things acting or being acted upon in time. Also, since there is no movement independent of time, there cannot be a verb without designation of its tense. ...is this not a clear footprint of nature impressed on the devices of human reason?'[9]

Speculative grammar, a later medieval development, was founded on a 'modistic scheme', hence the terms 'modistic grammar' and 'Modistae' (its practitioners). In the modistic scheme there were, firstly, the modes of being of real things, or 'modi essendi', whereby these things had their own properties. Correspondingly, the human mind apprehended and understood these properties with its own modes of understanding, or 'modi intelligendi'. The properties of things as understood by the human mind were then signified by words, the 'modi significandi'.'[10] This simple system proposed a natural and logical continuum from reality to conceptualization, and from conceptualization to satisfactory linguistic utterance. Such a morphosemantic approach was standard. It finds its completest expression in the Grammatica Speculativa of Thomas of Erfurt, a grammarian who was read in England, who defines a noun as:

> ...a part of speech signifying by means of the mode of an existent or of something with distinctive

characteristics... The mode of an existent is the mode of stability and permanence.

Nomen est pars orationis significans per modum entis vel determinatae apprehensionis; modus entis est modus habitus et permanentis.'[12]

Thomas defined a verb as

> ...a part of speech signifying through the mode of temporal process, detached from the substance [that is, the substance of which it is predicated].
>
> Verbum est pars orationis significans per modum esse distantis a substantia.'[13]

Syntax too, as well as grammar, was similarly accounted for in extra-linguistic philosophical terms. As Robins puts it, 'in applying this terminology [i.e. scholastic categories] to the indeclinable word classes, the modistae treated *modus significandi* almost as the equivalent of syntactic function'.'[14] A perfect formal construction was at the same time the complete expression of a concept of the mind. Thomas of Erfurt wove the idea of expressive intention into the very fabric of his syntactical scheme by denoting as its final cause, 'the expression of a compound concept of the mind'.'[15] As a scholastic grammarian of his time, Thomas employed Aristotle's scheme of the

four causes to describe a satisfactory sentence.'[16] Not only did Thomas appropriate the terminology of the philosopher, he also used it as a philosopher, because he integrated the formulation of concepts with formulation of syntactical combinations. He cited the material cause, or principle, as the 'constructibilia', these being words as members of grammatical classes. The formal cause was the union of these constructibles. The efficient cause was divided into an intrinsic efficient cause and an extrinsic efficient cause. The intrinsic efficient cause was the grammatical relations between the constructibles. The extrinsic efficient cause was 'of the mind'. It was therefore outside the realm of the constructibles. It was the mind which effects the actual union of the constructibles. As the final cause was 'the expression of a compound concept of the mind', syntactical form was accounted for as semantic: 'the sign achieves its goal by virtue of its meaning, therefore the construction or the sentence in grammar achieves its goal as a result of its expression of a concept of the mind'.'[17] And so, the business of syntax was concepts. To ask a question about language was to ask a question about the mind, about the things it apprehends, and about what a speaker or writer intended to say in the literal sense. Thus there was, in medieval grammar, a theory involving the intention of the speaker or writer. This had its literary-theoretical correlate in the concept of *intentio auctoris*. This postulated a message in the text as proceeding from the mind of the author.'[18]

The speculative grammarians believed that languages communicated alike, their differences being accidental rather than substantial; for they held that all languages represented not only the stable verities of the world, but also concepts drawn from the world.'[19] As Roger Bacon, no Modista, agreed in his Greek grammar, 'gramatica una et eadem est secundum substantiam in omnibus linguis, licet accidentaliter varietur'.[20] This, then, was a general theory of universal grammar. The differences between languages were marginalised as accidental, not substantial. The model for universal grammar, however, was Latin, a specific tongue.

Translators used traditional Latin grammar when translating into English, because English could be more or less worked into Latin grammatical categories, as well they knew from their schoolboy exercises with *Latinitates*. In any case, they had nothing else. As stated by Bacon, grammatical divergences between source language and target language could be seen as accidental, a superficial issue of form which did not affect substance or semantics. Therefore our translators, in theory, could resolve these divergences. Therefore the more academic translators, like John Trevisa and the Wycliffites, stated that they would change grammatical form but not the intended literal meaning, which was the substance, or as translators would say in Middle English, the *sentence* of their originals. The substance, or *sentence*, in the words of Thomas of Erfurt, was 'the expression of a compound concept of the mind'. Below is a

statement from the fifteenth chapter of the prologue to the second version of the Wycliffite Bible.

> First it is to knowe þat þe beste translating is, out of Latyn into English, to translate aftir þe sentence and not oneli aftir þe wordis, so þat þe sentence be as opin eiþer openere in English as in Latyn, and go not fer fro þe lettre; and if þe lettre mai not be suid in þe translating, let þe sentence euere be hool and open, for þe wordis owen to serue to þe entent and sentence, and ellis þe wordis ben superflu eiþer false. In translating into English, manie resolucions moun make þe sentence open, as an ablatif case absolute may be resoluid into þese þre wordis, wiþ couenable verbe, 'þe while, for, if', as gramariens seyn; as þus 'þe maistir redinge, I stonde', mai be resoluid þus 'while þe maistir rediþ, I stonde', eiþer 'if þe maistir rediþ' etc., eiþer 'for þe maistir' etc. And sumtyme it wolde acorde wel wiþ þe sentence to be resoluid into 'whanne' eiþer into 'aftirward', þus 'whanne þe maistir red, I stood', eiþer 'aftir þe maistir red, I stood'. And sumtyme it mai wel be resoluid into a verbe of þe same tens as oþere ben in þe same resoun, and into þis word 'et', þat is 'and' in English, as þus 'arescentibus hominibus pre timore', þat is 'and men shulen wexe drie fro drede'. Also a participle of a

present tens eiþer pretert, or actif vois eiþer passif, mai be resoluid into a verbe of þe same tens and a coniuncciоun copulatif, as þus 'dicens', þat is 'seiynge', mai be resoluid þus 'and seiþ' eiþer 'þat seiþ'. And þis wole in manie placis make þe sentence open, where to englisshe it aftir þe word wolde be derk and douteful.[21]

It is worthy of interest, though hardly surprising, that the Wycliffites anglicized their grammatical terminology, for example 'tens', 'coniuncciоun copulatif', 'ablatif case absolute'. At this time schoolboys and university students learnt Latin through English. Here the converse was true. The translator thought naturally in Anglicizations about the comparative English and Latin constructions. Wycliffe's own Latin often corresponded to an English word-order. Latin, as a synthetic language, could be re-ordered without losing its sense. This must have been a contributory factor tending to an assumption about the general validity of English word-order when translating Latin.

In a similar vein, Trevisa in his epistle to Berkeley on the occasion of his translating of the Polychronicon, said that he changed word-order and construction, but never meaning:

> ...in som place Y schal sette word vor word and actyue vor actyue and passiue vor passyue arewe ryȝt as a stondeþ withoute changyng of þe ordre of wordes.

But yn som place Y mot change þe rewe and þe ordre of wordes and sette þe actyue vor þe passiue and aȝenward. And yn som place Y mot sette a reson vor a word to telle what hyt meneþ. Bote vor al such chaungyng, þe menyng schal stonde and noȝt be ychanged.[22]

Again in the fifteenth chapter of the prologue to the second version of the Wycliffite Bible there are signs of the influence of orthodox grammar. This influence is to be seen in the freedom with which indeclinable syncategorematic words were treated. F.C. Copleston has observed that 'they were regarded as ornaments of speech, as pertaining to its [i.e. language's] *bene esse* rather than to its *esse*. And there was a tendency to look on them as pretty inferior parts of speech'.[23] Syncategorematic words, i.e. adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions, were classified together after the manner of the speculative grammarians by the Wycliffite translators: 'manie suche aduerbis, coniunccions and preposicions ben set ofte oon for anoþer and at fre chois of autoris sumtyme; and now þo shulen be taken as it acordiþ best to þe sentence'.[24]

A translation, as we have seen, according to medieval dictionary-tradition, was held to expound the meaning in the mind of the original by means of another language. It also saw a translator not only as expounding meaning through another language but as mediating between two languages.[25] This accords

with the common grammatical belief in the compatibility of languages. A translator, or 'interpres' was defined as 'medius duarum linguarum, cum transfert uel exponit vnam linguam per aliam'. [26] The translator was held to expound the actual source language itself; therefore language as a phenomenon was seen as containing meaning. The literal sense and its concepts were taken as the province of the grammatical structure of any given language. At the same time it was the province of the translator. John of Genoa had a further statement to encourage the translator: 'et scias quod interpretatio sit in diversis linguis'.[27] Translation could be in many tongues, and was not reserved for any named languages. It was implied that it was feasible in many. Trevisa's description of 'interpreters': 'som man lurneþ and knoweþ meny dyuers speches...such a man may be mene', echoes John of Genoa's 'diversis linguis' and 'medius duarum linguarum'.[28]

The attitudes and assumptions of the speculative grammarians filtered quite quickly down as far as the grammar schools.[29] In the last two decades of the thirteenth century Richard of Hambury, a grammar master of Oxford, was drawing on speculative grammar and referring to modes. Another grammar master, John of Cornwall, did the same in his Speculum Gramaticale (1346). John of Cornwall, appropiately, was also the first grammar master to replace French with English as the language of vernacular instruction in the schools. He also gave English equivalents to verb-paradigms and Latin sentences illustrating parts of speech

together with English equivalents. Trevisa tells of this change in the Polychronicon:

> ...for Iohn Cornwaile, a maister of grammer, chaunged þe lore in gramer scole and construccioun of Frensche in to Englische; and Richard Pencriche lerned þat manere techynge of hym and oþere men of Pencrich; so þat now, þe 3ere of oure Lorde a þowsand þre hundred and foure score and fyue, and of þe secounde kyng Richard after þe conquest nyne, in alle þe gramere scoles of Engelond, children leueþ Frensche and construeþ and lerneþ an Englische.[30]

In the grammar schools Latin was expounded and learnt through the vernacular(s). To apply John of Genoa's statement, English (and French) were the languages which expounded Latin. Donatus and Priscian provided the grammatical categories and the terminology. Therefore, throughout the entire educational system, traditional Latin grammar met with vernacular exposition. The Statutes of Oxford University, compiled before 1380, demanded of grammar masters that both French and English be used for translating and explaining Latin words.[31] And so, English and French explication and Latin grammar were different sides of the same educational coin.

The orthodox late-medieval view of language denoting realities and concepts of the mind of the utterer goes hand-in-hand with

the common medieval conception of the translator as a commentator, elucidating the realities indicated by the signs of the text. The translators as commentators did not translate word-for-word in the manner of an interlinear gloss-type translation. Their way was to take sentences as more important units than words, because it was the larger syntactic constructions which conveyed discrete developments in a text's argument, as grammarians would have agreed.

The Catholicon, both a grammar and a dictionary, provided standard definitions of these larger units. These definitions were at the same time descriptive of the workings of language itself, and a methodology for the exposition of text.[32] This harmonises with the orthodox late-medieval view that the very structure of language functioned semantically. The definitions were as follows. Firstly, the period was a unit of the text where both construction and a discrete development in the argument were complete:

> Periodus est punctum cum uirgula deorsum deducta. quando nec constructio nec sentencia plus dependet. et talis distinccio uocatur finitiua.[33]

Within the period itself, the 'coma' or 'suspensive pause' indicated incompleteness both of meaning and of construction:

> Coma est punctum cum uirgula sursum ducta. quando nec sentencia nec constructio est perfecta. Et talis distinctio dicitur suspensiua.[34]

The 'colum' or 'constant pause' showed that, although grammatical construction might be complete, the exposition of the thought relevant to the *periodus* or *sentencia* was not complete:

> Colum est punctum sine ulla uirgula. quando uidelicet constructio est perfecta. sed adhuc pendet intentio dictatoris. et talis distinccio uocatur constans siue media.[35]

This was how the translators read their sources and wrote their translations. This was how scribes punctuated their translations, and how the texts themselves were read. The primacy of the 'intentio dictatoris', that is, what was in the mind of the utterer, is reflected in other statements of orthodox grammar. For example, the distinguished grammarian of the twelfth century, Petrus Helias, held that the general cause of the invention of words was that men, by them, could manifest their will.[36] Men's intentions are expressed in units of discourse greater than the word. It is a truism of translation history that St. Jerome claimed to translate not word-for-word but sense-for-sense. Appropriately, in his preface to Ezekiel, Jerome claimed to be translating 'per cola et commata'.[37] Jerome, of course, was the very model for translators of the Middle Ages.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

MEDIEVAL GRAMMATICAL TRADITION AND TRANSLATION

1. Thomas of Erfurt: Grammatica Speculativa, edited by G.L. Bursill-Hall (London, Longman, 1972), introduction, p.40. See also R.H. Robins, Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical Theory in Europe with particular reference to Modern Linguistic Doctrine (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1951); R.H. Robins, A Short History of Linguistics, second edition, Longman's Linguistic Library 6 (London, Longman, 1979) pp.66-93 for general surveys of medieval grammatical theory.

2. Robins, Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical Theory, p.87.

3. Robins, A Short History of Linguistics, p.72

4. See G.L. Bursill-Hall's introduction to R.W. Hunt, The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages: Collected Papers, edited by G.L. Bursill-Hall, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History

of Linguistic Science, Series III -Studies in the History of Linguistics, vol. 5 (Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 1980) pp.xvi-xvii.

5. Robins, A Short History of Linguistics, p.76.

6. ibid., p.76, and p.91, note 18.

7. Robins, Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical Theory, p.77.

8. ibid., p.78.

9. Robins, A Short History of Linguistics, pp.78-79.

10. The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium, translated and edited by Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1955), pp.40-41.

11. Robins, A Short History of Linguistics, p.78.

12. ibid., p.79.

13. ibid., p.79.

14. ibid., p.80.

15. Thomas of Erfurt: Grammatica Speculativa, pp.272-7; this quote, p.277.

16. ibid. pp.272-7; Robins, A Short History of Linguistics, pp.81-82.

17. Thomas of Erfurt: Grammatica Speculativa, p.277.

18. See p.105 below for discussion of this term and Chapter III generally for its significance for vernacular literature.

19. Thomas of Erfurt: Grammatica Speculativa, Bursill-Hall's introduction, pp.16-17.

20. Ibid. p.19.

21. 'Prologue to Wycliffite Bible, Chapter 15', in Selections from English Wycliffite Writings, edited by Anne Hudson (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978) 67-72, p.68.

22. Ronald Waldron, 'Trevisa's Original Prefaces on Translation: a Critical Edition', in Medieval English Studies Presented to George Kane, edited by Donald Kennedy, Ronald Waldron, and Joseph S. Wittig (Wolfeboro, New Hampshire and Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 1988) 285-99, p.294.

23. F.C Copleston, A History of Medieval Philosophy (London, Methuen, 1972) p.270.

24. 'Prologue to Wycliffite Bible, Chapter 15', ed. Hudson, pp.71-72.

25. Catholicon, s.v. glossa (Venice, 1483) unfol. See also under interpres in Mainz edition, op. cit., unfol.

26. Catholicon, s.v. interpres (Mainz, 1460) reprinted in 1971 by Greg International, Westmead, unfol. This edition cited unless other wise indicated.

27. ibid., s.v. interpres, unfol.

28. Waldron, 'Trevisa's Original Prefaces', pp. 289-90; Catholicon, s.v. interpres, unfol.

29. See R.W. Hunt, 'Oxford Grammar Masters in the Middle Ages', in The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages, 167-97, pp.181-3.

30. As cited in Albert C. Baugh and Thomas Cable, A History of the English Language, third edition (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978) p.150. See also Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden: together with the English translations of John Trevisa and of an unknown writer of the Fifteenth Century, edited by C. Babington and J.R. Lumby, Rolls Series 41 (London, Longman, Green and Co., 1865-86), vol. 2, p.161.

31. Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages, pp.73-4.

32. See generally M.B. Parkes, 'Punctuation, or Pause and Effect'; and Pamela Gradon, 'Punctuation in a Middle English Sermon', in Five Hundred Years of Words and Sounds: a Festschrift for Eric Dobson, edited by E.G. Stanley and Douglas Gray (Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 1983) 39-48, pp.40-41, for general definitions and discussion relevant for medieval punctuation and exposition.

33. Catholicon, s.v. de distinctione under periodus, unfol.

34. ibid., s.v. de distinctione under coma, unfol.

35. ibid., s.v. de distinctione under colum, unfol.

36. R.W. Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian II', in History of Grammar in the Middle Ages, 39-94, p.70.

37. L.G. Kelly, The True Interpreter: A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1979) p.121.

CHAPTER THREE

THE VERNACULAR ACADEMIC LITERARY THEORY OF TRANSLATORS AND MIDDLE ENGLISH LIVES OF CHRIST

I. THE PROBLEM OF LITERARY AUTHORITY

The academic literary roles adopted by the translators of the Middle English Lives of Christ had one over-riding purpose in common. This purpose was to communicate effectively, without corruption, writings of 'authority'. A work of authority (in Latin 'auctoritas'), was a work of truth and wisdom by an appropriately trustworthy, wise, known author (in Latin 'auctor'). A work possessing *auctoritas* was one to be read, believed and obeyed. The ultimate in *auctoritas* was the Bible.' Its authors were divinely inspired. The Bible was the truest book, and its teaching demanded to be broadcast and implemented. Thus it was not merely desirable, but a positive duty, to spread Christian teaching on the life of Christ for the benefit of readers and hearers. To write a Life of Christ was an activity not to be understood in narrowly literary terms. It was a duty to be performed with a pure and humble intention for the benefit of others, and with obedience to Holy Church and orthodox doctrine.

We must not under-rate the awesome responsibilities with which these translators had to contend. They had to provide a worthy version of the most holy life. This life was derived from the four equally authoritative but distinct gospels. These separate accounts constituted the holiest part of the most sacred text of all. Without corruption, they had to adapt this life for their intended audiences in a vernacular often thought too crude and unworthy to do the Latin sources justice. Latin, the language of the Vulgate text and the Church, was the natural language of sanctity, authority, learning, and literary sophistication. It was the language of literacy in general. The overwhelming majority of books made and read in England were in Latin. Translators must have felt that, in one sense, they were pulling against cultural gravity. Their problem was to render into English Lives of Christ which authentically embodied their authoritative sources. Scholastic literary attitudes offered them choice of 'correct' procedures. It offered them definitions of their roles. It gave them licence, guide, and concrete examples. Scholastic literary theory was put into practice in the vernacular. Considering the number and importance of Middle English Lives of Christ, it would not be inaccurate to speak of an academic literary sensibility as integral to medieval English literary culture.

II. SCHOLASTIC LITERARY ROLES IN GENERAL

The three main roles adopted by the translators were those of the compiler, the commentator and the preacher. These roles were seen as being distinct from each other, but nevertheless related, as if in a continuous hierarchy. St. Bonaventure's following systematic definition of a graded continuum of literary roles has aroused the attention of recent scholars.

> ...quadruplex est modus faciendi librum. Aliquis enim scribit aliena, nihil addendo vel mutando; et iste mere dicitur scriptor. Aliquis scribit aliena addendo, sed non de suo; et iste compilator dicitur. Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua annexa ad evidentiam; et iste dicitur commentator non auctor. Aliquis scribit et sua et aliena, sed sua tamquam principalia, aliena tamquam annexa ad confirmationem et debet dici auctor.[2]

> The method of making a book is fourfold. For someone writes the materials of others, adding or changing nothing, and this person is said merely to be the scribe. Someone else writes the materials of others, adding, but nothing of his own, and this person is said to be the compiler. Someone else writes both the materials of other men, and of his own, but the

materials of others as the principal materials, and his own annexed for the purposes of clarifying them, and this person is said to be the commentator, not the author. Someone else writes both his own materials and those of others, but his own as the principal materials, and the materials of others annexed for the purposes of confirming his own, and such must be called the author.[3]

This fourfold definition is a useful generalization and starting point. The 'scriptor' makes a copy. However, actual scribes often modified their texts, changing layout and punctuation to conform with certain preferred readings of the text. The 'compilator' adds materials of others, it is true, but there was much more to the actual practice of compilers than the definition of Bonaventure might seem to offer at first sight. Compilers exercised considerable flexibility in re-dividing and re-ordering materials, which it was up to them to select and combine: these materials may have been presented as being in harmony or in conflict. The 'commentator', according to Bonaventure, should repeat the words of others, his own words having an ancillary function, that of elucidation. However, actual commentators used their freedom to choose which materials to expound, and they shaped the principal understanding of their texts for their readers to trust. The translators certainly did not portray themselves as 'auctores'. However, when they made assertions in their own words without a specific source, they still wrote with

authority, because in these cases they were drawing on the general authority of traditional preaching and their clerical office of preaching. After all, these translators were clerics working for the profit of Christian souls, for whom they bore considerable reponsibility and over whom they were meant to exercise authority. As priests they expected attentiveness and obedience from their audiences. The preacher can be seen as a special type of commentator. He expounded Christian teaching by the grace of God, Who was conceived of as validating, permitting, and to some degree actually moving the preacher in his office. Trevisa's argument that 'such Englysch prechyng ys verrey Englysch translacion' is convincing to the point of seeming self-evident.[4] In Piers Plowman, texts are frequently given in Latin like preachers' cues and preached on in English.

III. VERNACULAR TRANSLATORS, MIDDLE ENGLISH LIVES OF CHRIST, AND THE LITERARY ROLE OF THE COMPILER

Many translators of Middle English Lives of Christ can be seen as compilers. The ubiquitous, utilitarian and flexible medieval literary genre of *compilatio* was concerned essentially with the accessible presentation of authoritative materials according to the needs of the users of the book. Materials must not be corrupted.[5] The compiler nevertheless exercised the right to choose, exclude, re-order, expand, condense, repeat, highlight,

juxtapose and contradistinguish materials as he saw fit. Translators, as compilers, were also aided by developments in habits of exegesis in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At this time commentary-tradition, as exemplified by the works of such schoolmen as Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas and Nicholas of Lyre, increasingly emphasised the literal sense of the human authors of Holy Scripture as it developed throughout the whole work. Authorial intention and argument were the criteria of appraisal.[6] Works were assessed as being constructed of discernibly and deliberately organised parts. Compilers were permitted to re-arrange these parts and combined them with the materials of other writers when the context allowed it. Compilers worked by selecting materials, dividing them (*divisio*), and re-arranging them in a justifiable order (*ordinatio*) with a particular utility.[7] Many of the great and standard medieval works were also great compilations, for alongside the plethora of reference works, preachers' manuals and collections of *distinctiones* there were books like the Historia Scholastica of Peter Comestor (sacred history), the Speculum maius of Vincent of Beauvais (encyclopaedia), the Catholicon of John of Genoa (dictionary), the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus a Voragine (collection of holy lives), and, of course, Gospel Harmonies. Lives of Christ were re-ordered, reorganised compilations. They combined four distinct but equally authoritative gospels.[8] The late-fourteenth century translator of Oon of Foure, a rendering of the Unum Ex Quattuor of Clement of Llanthony, involving a tradition of gospel harmony numbering, among others, St. Augustine's 'boc

of acording of þe four gospeleis' (De Consensu Evangelistarum), indicates the desirability of making one of four, 'for not alle gospeleres seyn alle þingis, & þo þingis which þei seyn þei seyn not alle þingis bi kindeli ordre in her place'.* 'Kindeli ordre' is 'ordo naturalis', the actual historical sequence of events. This was distinguished from 'ordo artificialis', an artificial order of narration, which may at times be more to a writer's purposes. Not all gospel events were recorded in each gospel. Therefore Christians needed to be shown the sum and combining of these events and their developments being harmonised from different accounts, not only for a copiousness of knowledge but as a demonstration of the real harmony existing between all four evangelists. The preoccupations of the Con of Foure are also to be found in Chaucer's prologue to the Tale of Melibee, as a precedent for his own literary practice as a compiler and translator.

"Gladly," quod I, "by Goddes sweete pyne!
I wol yow telle a litel thyng in prose
That oghte liken yow, as I suppose,
Or elles, certes, ye been to daungerous.
It is a moral tale vertuous,
Al be it told somtyme in sondry wyse
Of sondry folk, as I shal yow devyse.
As thus: ye woot that every Evaungelist,
That telleth us the peyne of Jhesu Crist,
Ne seith nat alle thyng as his felawe dooth;

But nathelees hir sentence is al sooth,

And alle acorden as in hire sentence,

Al be ther in hir tellyng difference.

For somme of hem seyn moore, and somme seyn lesse,

Whan they his pitous passioun expresse-

I meene of Mark, Mathew, Luc, and John-

But doutelees hir sentence is al oon.[10]

The accounts of the four evangelists do differ because some say more and some say less. However, there is no contradiction between them. Their meaning is all one. The evangelists were the most prestigious example to makers of Lives of Christ and to Chaucer of the feasibility of treating worthily the same subject in different ways. The gospels were conceived of as complementary, each evangelist performing a necessary task contributing to a satisfactory whole. St. Augustine was one of the most authoritative of the many commentators on the harmony of the gospels, upon which there was an extensive literature, including his own De Consensu Evangelistarum, which was referred to by the English translator of Clement of Llanthony, as has been seen.[11] In Book I, Chapter II, section iv, Augustine gives the following forceful and lucid account of the relative roles and harmony of the evangelists.

> And however they may appear to have kept each of them a certain order of narration proper to himself, this certainly is not to be taken as if each individual

writer chose to write in ignorance of what his predecessor had done, or left out as matters about which there was no information things which another nevertheless is discovered to have recorded. But the fact is, that just as they received each of them the gift of inspiration, they abstained from adding to their several labours any superfluous conjoint compositions. For Matthew is understood to have taken it in hand to construct the record of the incarnation of the Lord according to the royal lineage, and to give an account of most part of his deeds and words as they stood in relation to this present life of men. Mark follows him closely and looks like his attendant and epitomizer. For in his narrative he gives nothing in concert with John apart from the others; by himself separately, he has little to record; in conjunction with Luke, as distinguished from the rest, he has still less; but in concord with Matthew, he has a very large number of passages. Much too, he narrates in words almost numerically and identically the same as those used by Matthew, where the agreement is either with that evangelist alone, or with him in connection with the rest. On the other hand, Luke appears to have occupied himself rather with the priestly lineage and character of the Lord.[12]

In Book I, Chapter IV, section vii, Augustine dealt with the fact that John undertook the exposition of Christ's divinity, which was not the primary concern of the three other evangelists.

> These three evangelists, however, [i.e. Matthew, Mark and Luke] were for the most part engaged with those things which Christ did through the vehicle of the flesh of man, and after the temporal fashion. But John, on the other hand, had in view that true divinity of the Lord in which he is the Father's equal, and directed his efforts above all to the setting forth of the divine nature in his Gospel in such a way as he believed to be adequate to men's needs and notions.'[13]

Or, as the Speculum Devotorum pithily put it, 'that one leuyth anothyr supplyeth'.'[14]

No one evangelist offers a final and comprehensive treatment of the life of Jesus, yet each gospel is worthy and necessary. Similarly, each rendering of the life of Christ compiled in English was regarded as profitable, but did not claim to be the final treatment. Each Middle English Life was limited to, and justified by, its particular intention. For example, the translation of the Unum Ex Quattuor was intended specifically to show the harmony of the four gospels' narratives; Nicholas Love's Mirrour was a devout series of meditations on the humanity

of Christ intended to stir the devotion of *symple soules*. The Mirroure of Mans Saluacionne emphasised through typological exposition the life of Christ as a fulfilment of the Old Testament.[15] The Early Version of the Northern Homily Collection was designed to provide unlearned English people with an understanding of the Sunday Gospels:

The faur godspellers us schawes,
Cristes dedes & his sawes,
Al faur a talle thay telle,
Bot seer saues er in thair spelle,
And of thair spel in kirk at messe,
Er leszouns red bathe mar and lesse,
For at euer ilke messe we rede
Of Cristes wordes and his dede,
Forthi tha godspells that always
Er red in kirc on sundays,
Opon Inglis wil Ic undo,
Yef God wil gif me grace tharto...

...For wil Ic on Inglis schau,
And ger our laued brether knawe,
Quat alle the godpelles saies,
That falles tille the sunnendayes...'[16]

The evangelists between them tell the life of Christ. Each, though, has a separate tale. From their accounts were excerpted

'leszouns', as in the Stanzaic Life of Christ (11.20, 1176). The Early Version of the Northern Homily Collection partook of the tradition whose approach to the Gospels was one of compilation. It recognised the fact that the gospels are distinct but that they combine. It also recognised the practice of excerption from them.

The text of the earliest extant version of the Northern Passion in MS CUL Gg.I.1 claimed to be harmonised from three, not four, gospels.

> Of his passioun ich wol you telle,
> Yef ye wolle a stounde dwelle.
> Here is Mathe, Luc and Iohanne,
> Þei accorden heuchon.'[7]

The main source of this work, the Old French Passion, according to the EETS editor, Foster, contains only two parallels with the 'missing' gospel, Mark, and one of these passages is shared with Matthew. Could the virtual absence of Mark from the source be in some way the cause of this exclusion? Readings of the same line (1.9) in CUL MS Ii.4.9, BL MS Addit. 31042, and CUL MS Gg.5.31 refer to all four evangelists.'[8] It is tempting to ask, however tentatively, if, somewhere in the complex textual history of the Northern Passion, the tradition of the harmony of all four gospels proved to be too strong for the survival of a reference to the trio as cited above. It certainly would be interesting to

know if such a tradition could overcome scribal accuracy or authorial intention.

A certain easy familiarity with gospel harmony is witnessed in a poem in a fifteenth century hand in MS Bodley Rawlinson C.288. It was written to rid a place of rats, against whom the 'vertu' of Jesus was invoked, as was

> ... þe vertu of Mark, Mathew, Luke, an Ion,-
> Alle foure Awangelys corden into on.'[9]

That gospel harmony could be such a commonplace should be no surprise. Each of the multifarious instances of the compiling of the life of Christ was a re-affirmation of its capacity to be re-treated 'in sondry wyse', as Chaucer put it. No one could have heard, read, or adapted a gospel or gospels without bearing in mind gospel harmony.

Pure gospel harmony, strictly speaking, is a form of compiling which is the rearrangement of Biblical material alone. Compilers of the English Lives of Christ, however, exercised their right to include material from non-evangelical sources. These sources were authoritatively orthodox, and were specifically cited as such. The lines immediately following those earlier quoted from the prologue to the Tale of Melibee tell us that Chaucer is intending to add proverbial materials, and is allowed to do this because some evangelists say more on the subject of the passion

than others. Just as their additions do not impinge on the 'sentence', neither shall his own additions impinge on the 'sentence' of his source.

> Therfore, lordynges alle, I yow biseche,
> If that yow thynke I varie as in my speche,
> As thus, though that I telle somwhat moore
> Of proverbes than ye han herd bifoore
> Comprehended in this litel tretys heere,
> To enforce with th'effect of my mateere,
> And though I nat the same wordes seye
> As ye han herd, yet to yow alle I preye
> Blameth me nat; for, as in my sentence
> Shul ye nowher fynden difference
> Fro the sentence of this tretys lyte
> After the which this murye tale I write.[20]

As a compiler, Chaucer was justified in adding proverbial material because proverbs are commonplace authorities. In any case the proverbs in Melibee are accorded sources. It was the standard practice of compilers to label their sources. Some indicated their own intrusions. Thus we find that in the Polychronicon Ranulf Higden labels his own intrusions with an 'R', and, also, in the Speculum maius Vincent of Beauvais uses the term 'actor' for the same purpose.[21] In the vernacular, we find in Love's Mirrour that Nicholas Love's words are distinguished from those of his Pseudo-Bonaventurean source by

the use of 'ℕ' and 'ℕB' in the margin respectively. The fourteenth-century Stanzaic Life and the fifteenth-century Speculum Devotorum name sources most explicitly, and construct their English texts accordingly. However, although the English Lives adhered to their sources, they exercised the freedom to divide and re-order their chosen materials. An intelligent compiler, like that of the Speculum Devotorum, succeeded both in following sources faithfully and providing a lucid array of teaching expounding a judiciously compiled narrative. He puts into excellent vernacular practice the compiler's twin concepts of *ordinatio* and *divisio*. The prologue to the Stanzaic Life tells us that a 'worthy wyght' asked our translator for Christ's works to be ordered in English:

> ...on a rowe,
>
> To the whiche by good Auctorite
>
> He myghte triste 7 fully knowe.[22]

In other words he asked for authoritative materials suitably ordered by the compiler so that they could be both trusted as authentic and be understood.

The tradition of 'translation as compilation' goes quite back a long way, for Robert Mannyng, in his early fourteenth-century translation of the Passion-section of the Pseudo-Bonaventurean Meditationes Vitae Christi, the Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion, a work in which there is

considerable condensation, cutting, expansion and abridgement, refers to his work as a compilation which shall both move and teach and save his unlearned 'congregacyun' through meditation on the Passion:

> For þou shalt chaunge þy chere a none,
> Or elles þyn herte ys harder þan stone.
> Y wyl þe lere a medytacyun
> Compyled of crystys passyun;
> And of hys modyr, þat ys dere,
> What peynes þey suffred þou mayst lere.
> Take hede, for y wyl no þyng seye
> But þat ys preued by crystes feye,
> By holy wryt, or seyntes sermons,
> Or by dyuers holy opynyons.
> Vhan þou þenkest þys yn þy þoȝt
> Thyr may no fende noye þe with noȝt.[23]

Mannyng takes care to rehearse, in idiomatic fashion, the categories of the scholastic prologue, with which he was familiar in his other famous translation, that of the Manuel des Pechiez; for he points out that the *manere* of the work is affective and meditative, that its *matere* concerns Jesus's and Mary's sufferings, and that its *entent* is to edify the soul.[24] He also points out, as a conscientious compiler, that he does not discord from authority, by basing his work on the Bible and orthodox interpretation.

In another compiling posture, the translator of the Northern Passion combines a declaration of the necessity of producing a clearly expounded Life in English for the benefit of Christian souls with the concept of *ordinatio*, which is emphasised by the Romance word 'ordand'.

> And for þe passioun of ihesu crist
> Es medeful forto be puplist,
> And nedful to all cristen men
> Clerely forto kun and ken,
> Þarfore þus es it ordand here,
> In iglische [*sic*] land men forto lere.[25]

The *ordinatio* of a Life of Christ was historical and it could be variously presented. For example, the Stanzaic Life was structured according to the Church year and could have been used thus. Mannyng's Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion take account of the canonical hours.[26] The Speculum Devotorum was given thirty-three chapters to the worship of the thirty-three years of Christ's Life on earth.[27] Love's Mirrour was divided into sections for the days of the week, and could also be used according to the times of the Church year.[28]

Such divisions, as in the case of the Mirrour, were perhaps made more manifest by the use of tables, running titles at the tops of pages, underlining, colour, marginal annotation, paraph

marks and other features of scholarly textual organisation available to the compiler.

Especially important in the case of the Mirrour and the Speculum Devotorum were the lengthy explanatory *capitula*, i.e. chapter-headings, which were more than mere titles in that they summarised the text. Under the heading 'capitulum' the Catholicon described their function: 'breviter capiant et contineant aliquam sententiam':[29] in other words they pointed to some of the worthwhile material in the text. The Stanzaic Life expounds and develops the Latin texts of its headings. In the Mirrour chapter-headings were put into tables at the beginning or end of the book in order to facilitate reference and to give a recapitulation of the life of Christ at a glance. In fact, Nicholas Love employed the principle of recapitulation within his text. He transposed a summarising meditation on the sufferings of Christ from before those sufferings to immediately after them as a 'recapitulacioun', thereby providing both a retrospective summary narrative and a series of mnemonic headings.[30] Under this same heading of 'capitulum', John of Genoa mentions the related verb 'recapitulo' as pertaining to memory ('ad memoriam reducere'). The prologue of the Speculum Devotorum explicitly instructed the reader to read one chapter diligently rather than more without diligence.[31] The Pepysian Gospel Harmony's divisions seem suitable for daily use. Nicholas Love excluded material for reasons involving its likely time-consuming irksomeness to the intended readers and hearers. The Middle

English Lives of Christ are an excellent example of the laudable medieval desire to produce books with a maximum usability and accessibility.

The theory of *compilatio* is central to many other English translations of works of authority and piety. Many times does Osbern Bokenham, for example, refer to himself as a compiler-translator, in no way an *auctor* or *assertor*. The prologue to his Mappula angliae, his rendering of part of Higden's Polychronicon, contains the following illuminating statement:

> I of no þynge seyde þere-ynne chalenge ne desire to be holdyn neythur auctour ne assertour, ne wylle aske no more but to byn holdyn oonly the pore compilatour & owte of latyne in to ynglyssh the rude & symple translatour.[32]

In the process of rendering his own Life of St Katherine, he also mentions another writer who also made an English version of the same life, John Capgrave, referring to him as a compiler-translator.[33] Bokenham did not see himself alone in the role, as is witnessed further by a reference to his literary activity in his Life of St Christine:

> ...the translatour
> Vych þi legend compylyd, not wyth-out labour,
> In englyssh tunge...[34]

A more famous example of translation as compilation is Chaucer's adoption of the role of 'lewd compilator', who has not done anything of his own 'engyn', that is, on his own authority, in the prologue to his Treatise on the Astrolabe:

> But considre wel that I ne usurpe not to have founden this werk of my labour or of myn engyn. I n'am but a lewd compilator of the labour of olde astrologiens, and have it translatid in myn Englissh oonly for thy doctrine.[34]

Though a compiler may not assert, he is permitted to alter the structure, which may have a profound effect on a source. This is normally done in order to re-orient the work for another audience, invariably an audience of lesser sophistication than that of the original. A good example of re-orientation of structure is Þe Seuene Poyntes of Trewe Loue & Euerlastynge Wysedame, an English reworking of the Orologium Sapientiae of Henry Suso, a devotional treatise on the wisdom, love and Passion of Jesus.[35] Suso's two books and twenty-four chapters are compiled into seven chapters, or 'poyntes' (as set out in a table of *capitula* at the beginning of the work) with much abridgement, conflation, and cutting out of repetition. The new compilation is written for a devout woman, so there have been cuts to *clergiale* material, and preservation only of the matters which

will edify the intended readership. There is to be no redundant rendering:

> Butte for als miche as in þe forseyde boke þere be. manye maters and long processe towchynge him þat wrote hit and oþere religiose persones of his degre, þe whiche, as hit semeþ to me, were lytel edificacione to wryte to 3owe, my dere ladye, 7 to oþere deuowte persones þat desyrene þis drawynge owt in englische: þere-fore I leve seche materes 7 take onelye þat me þinkeþ edifiyng to 3owe.[37]

A new, and symbolic, *ordinatio* is declared. The compiler has exercised his freedom to change it according to his *entent*:

> ...and also I folownot [*sic*] þe processe of þat boke in ordere, but I take þe materes in-sindrye, as þei acordene to mye purpos... ¶ And þus, considerynge alle þe processe of þe forseyde boke...after mye symple vnderstandyng hit may be comprehendet as in effecte in to VII poyntes þat longene to þe trewe loue of owre lorde Jhesu, aftere þe VII 3ifftees of þe holye goste.[38]

The new *ordinatio* according to the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, although it occurs at the level of *forma tractatus*, manifests an expository decision. 'Materes', however closely translated, now

take their context and meaning from those Seven Gifts. This does not mean to say that the *sentence* is in any way being undermined. The compilers' *manere* is based on respect for the original, and the *modus exerptoris*, that is, the compilatory mode of the excerptor, is at one with that of the *fidus interpres* in communicating what is most important for the source in the target culture.[39]

IV. VERNACULAR TRANSLATORS, MIDDLE ENGLISH LIVES OF CHRIST, AND THE LITERARY ROLE OF THE COMMENTATOR

The role of the translator as commentator or expositor was more responsible and prestigious than that of the compiler. Like the compiler, the commentator offered faithful rehearsal of authorities, but he did more because he clarified and explained what was latent in his materials. As a commentator the writer of an English Life of Christ offered exposition developed from gospel narrative with the intention of edifying his audience. Although the Middle English Lives did not actually originate much commentary-material themselves, they were important in bringing such expositions into the vernacular. The commonest expositions came from standard commentary-tradition, reworkings of Biblical materials and devotional treatises, including the Glossa

Ordinaria, Comestor, Lyre, St. Bernard, the Legenda Aurea, among others. Often a translator would find that the Latin or French Life from which he was translating had commentary in it already. Moreover, the very form of treatment, the very arrangement of an English Life, was itself an expository act relative to the Bible. In having to be a single version, an English Life manifested a set of expository decisions.

The activity of the commentator underwent some important changes during the course of the Middle Ages. Whereas the Early Middle Ages concentrated on the allegorical senses of Holy Scripture, the emergence in the thirteenth century of an Aristotelian mode of exegesis gave priority to the literal sense. The twelfth century Neoplatonist William of Conches wrote that the *sententia* was the level of meaning which could be reached only by a effort of commentary. The commentator considered only the *sententia*: neither grammatical construction nor the exposition of the letter were his concern. Such lower levels, according to William of conches, were the concern of the gloss:

> Commentum enim est solum sententiam exequens, de continuatione vel expositione litterae nihil agit. Glosa vero omnia illa exequitur.

A commentary only considers the *sententia*, but has nothing to do with the syntactical structure

(*continuatio*) or explanation of the literal text.

Indeed, a gloss considers all these things.[40]

Hugh of St. Victor, in his Didascalicon, a standard text-book of the Middle Ages which taught reading and exposition, had a similar outlook:

> Littera est congrua ordinatio dictionum, quam etiam constructionem vocamus. Sensus est facilis quaedam et aperta significatio, quam littera prima fronte praefert. Sententia est profundior intelligentia, quae nisi expositione vel interpretatione non invenitur.
>
> The letter (*littera*) is the proper arrangement of words which we also call construction. The sense (*sensus*) is a straightforward and open interpretation which the letter offers at first sight. The sentence (*sententia*) is a deeper understanding which is discovered in no other way except by exposition or interpretation.[41]

Such definite stratification of the levels of meaning, however, had broken down significantly by the time of Nicholas of Lyre in the fourteenth century. Around 1331 he completed his Postilla on the literal sense of the whole of the Bible. To Nicholas the *sensus literalis* was of paramount importance because

it alone was regarded as the basis for the adducing of proof, for the level of the literal sense was that at which the intention of the inspired human authors of Holy Writ operated. This accounts for Lyre's use of the interesting term 'sententia litterae', 'the profound meaning/teaching of the literal sense'.[41] This collocation would have been impossible for earlier exegetes, who would have conceived of *sententia* and *littera* as mutually exclusive levels. Whereas the later 'Aristotelians' take a literal route to *sententia* the earlier exegetes like William of Conches went the allegorical way. Naturally these two traditions are not mutually exclusive. Both traditions were available to translators of the Lives of Christ. However translators did have an understandable interest in the exposition of the literal sense, for to expound the literal sense is tantamount to translating. The Wycliffites, rebellious in many ways but orthodox in scholarship, relied heavily on Lyre. So did the writer of the Speculum Devotorum, who was in no way a rebel and used the Postilla for the 'lettural vndyrstandynge'.[42]

Translating according to the *sentence* after the Hieronymic fashion is the central tenet of the theory and ideology of serious medieval translation in general. For example, the translator of the Seven Poyntes feels obliged to elucidate 'clergiale teremes' in the vernacular for his audience:

> Ne I translate not þe wordes as þei bene wrytene, one for a nobere, þat is to seye þe englische worde for

> þe latyne worde - by-cause þat þere beþ manye wordes in clergiale teremes þe whiche wold seme vnsaverye so to be spokene in englische: and þere-for I take þe sentence as me þinkeþ moste opune to þe comine vnderstandyng in englische.[44]

The maker of the Myrroure of Oure Ladye is typical in giving a greater priority to the *sentence* than the words, although he tries to keep as close to the words as he can, which is also typical:

> Yt is not lyght for euery man to drawe eny longe thyng from latyn into oure Englyshe tongue. For there ys many wordes in Latyn that we haue no propre englyssh accordynge therto. And then suche wordes muste be turnyd as the sentence may beste be vnderstondyd. And therfore though I laboure to kepe bothe the wordes and the sentence in this boke as farre as oure language wyll well assente: yet some tyme I folowe the sentence and not the wordes as the mater asketh.[45]

It is acknowledged that often a rendering will have to be glossatory or selective in order to catch the connotations and nuances not only of the Latin words, but also of the larger linguistic units:

There is also many wordes that haue dyverse vnderstondynges, & some tyme they ar taken in one wyse, some tyme in another, and son tyme they may be taken in dyuerse wyse in one reson or clause. Dyuerse wordes also in dyuerse scryptures: ar set and vnderstonde some tyme other wyse then auctoures of gramer tell or speke of.[46]

Like Jerome (and like his contemporary, Osbern Bokenham), he is thinking of translating in terms of *cola et commata*. The fact that he has to change the words of the source makes his sheltering in his obedience to the correction of the authority of Holy Church the more significant.[47] Bokenham keeps faith with his *auctor*, not through translating word-for-word but 'fro sentence to sentence'. In this way he will fully follow his source, St Ambrose:

> Whom fully to folwyn was my purpose,
> Not wurde for wurde, for þat ne may be
> In no translacyoun, after Jeromys decre;
> But fro sentence to sentence I dar wele seyn
> I hym haue folwyde euene by & by.[48]

There is something paradoxical about using 'folwyn' and 'folwyde' to describe his *not following* the word-order of the original. The motivation for the appropriative wresting of the term into a slightly unexpected context is to show that a higher order of

sentence has been 'folwyde'. It may be possible to imitate the order of discourse of the original in terms of larger units, for, in his *prologus* to the Legendys of Hooly Wummen, Bokenham points out that the form of his treatment of the original has been to clarify it 'in dew ordre clause be clause'.[49]

With a similar approach, Gavin Douglas, in his translation of Virgil, modelling his approach to his Scots Englishing of a classical source on a combination of Christian and pagan authorities, Horace and Gregory the Great, in no way feels bound to follow his original word-for-word. Indeed, so to do would spoil the 'sentens':

> To follow alanerly Virgilis wordis, I weyn,
> Thar suld few vndirstand me quhat thai meyn.
> The bewte of his ornate eloquens
> May nocht al tyme be kepit with the sentens.
> Sanct Gregor eik forbyddis ws to translait
> Word eftir word bot sentence follow algait:
>
> "Quha haldis," quod he, "of wordis the properteis
> Full oft the verite of the sentens fleys."
>
> And to the sammyn purpose we may apply
> Horatius in hys Art of Poetry:
>
> "Pres nocht," says he, "thou traste interpreter
> Vord eftir word to translate thi mater."[50]

In his glossatory translation of the Psalter Rolle attempted to follow the letter, and only would circumlocute when he had to.

> In þis werk I seke no strange Inglis, bot lightest and comunest and swilke þat es mast like vntoþe Latyn, so þat þai þat knawes noght Latyn, be þe Inglis may cum tille many Latyn wordes.*[1]

His *entent* is to provide access for the reader without Latin to as close an experience as possible of the linguistic texture of the original together with orthodox commentary and affective extrapolation. His method of opening the Psalter has two main stages; firstly an interlinear verbal gloss-type rendering, which allows the original to cast a literalistically Latinate shadow in the vernacular; and, secondly, a more open translation together with expository (and devotional) extrapolation of the *sentence*, based in general on the *catena* of Peter Lombard:*[2]

> In þe translacioun I folow þe letter als mekil als I may, and þare I fynde na propir Inglys I folowþe witte of þe word, so þat þai þat sal rede it, þam thar noght dred errynge. In expounynge I folew haly doctours.*[3]

This can be exemplified by a typical expository sequence from Psalm 3:

Voce mea ad dominum clamaui et exaudiuit me de monte sancto suo. 'With my voyce I cried til oure Lord and he me herd fra his haly hille.' Voyce of hert, þat es, grete ȝernynge of Goddes luf, sounes bifore Crist. His praier he calles cryinge, for the force of fire of luf es in his saule, þat makis his prayer to thrille heuen. And so he herd hym fro his haly hille, þat es, of his rightwisnes, for it es rightwise byfor God to help hym þat es in angwys for his luf.[84]

This method of translating by drawing on the gloss permeates medieval literary culture and is to be found also in non-Biblical and non-devotional translations, notably those which dealt with the most prestigious and authoritative sources, for example in Chaucer's and Walton's translations of Boethius [85], and Gavin Douglas in his Scots version of Virgil, the Eneados. All of these drew on commentary-tradition, and its methodology, in the best manner of the age. Chaucer drew on Trevet's commentary, some Remigian glosses, and the French translation of Jean de Meun (itself an academic rendering). Walton drew on Trevet and Chaucer's Boece. In his 'wlgar Virgill' Gavin Douglas used commentary material from Ascensius and Servius, and employed the standard expository method; for example:

Sum tyme the text mon haue ane expositioun,
Sum tyme the collour will causs a litill additioun,

> And sum tyme of a word I mon make thre,
> In witness of this term "oppetere."[56]

An intriguing act of vernacular self-exegesis at this point provides a scholarly, and rather triumphant, gloss, a peculiarly medieval etymology backing up his point:

> Oppetere is alsmekil to say as ore terram petere, lyke as Seruius exponys the sammyn term, quhilk to translate in our tung is with mowth to seik or byte the erd. And lo, that is ane hail sentens for ane of Virgillis wordis.[57]

He also glosses in the same manner some other examples of difficult Latin words, like 'animal' and 'homo'.[58] Like commentators on the Bible, he notes that authoritative works have a superabundance of *sentence*, which forces the expositor to choose a meaning which accords with his *entent*.

> Eik weill I wait syndry expositouris seir
> Makis on a text sentens diuerss to heir,
> As thame apperis, accordyng thar entent,
> And for thar part schawis ressonys euident.
> All this is ganand, I will weill it swa be,
> Bot a sentens to follow may suffice me.
> Sum tyme I follow the text als neir I may,
> Sum tyme I am constrenyt ane other way.[59]

Douglas proclaims his closeness to the text, which means closeness to the literal sense and the *sentence*: 'Rycht so am I to Virgillis text ybund'. Rather than let his 'engyne' be at liberty, he trusts in 'a fixt sentens or mater'.[60] Note that this fixity is a business of interpretative units of significant subject-matter. Caxton is berated for perverting this 'mater'.[61] The Scot advertises that he is providing a *wigar Virgill* 'fut haite...In fresch sapour new from the berry run' i.e. from the true Latin source, not Caxton's 'mank and mutulate' prose, 'lawyn fra tun to tun' via a mere French intermediary. Here we have the same respect for the integrity of the *originalia* as shown by the makers of the Wycliffite Bible and the compilers and editors of scholarly compilations.

The later Middle ages had a considerable tradition of scriptural exegesis which paid attention to the literary features of the Bible.[62] The exegete who did not take into account the literary forms and the very literariness of the Bible might be led into interpretative error. There emerged an understanding of the variety of genres within the Bible. Moreover Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas and many others appraised and taught the multiform styles and modes of Holy Scripture, its 'modes' (in Latin 'modi'), whose function it was to move the will. Such modes included the narrative, exhortative, preceptive, disputative, deprecative, laudatory, oratory, exemplificative, revelatory, prophetic and figurative. The

figurative mode did not concern the allegorical senses; rather it concerned the figurative language used by the human author. In the same vein William of Occam, harking back to Peter Abelard, warned that attention should not be paid to the mere propriety of words but to 'translationes', that intentional defamiliarization through unusual use of language.[43] Augustine, Jerome and Cassiodorus had set precedents for the Middle Ages by their own appreciation of the hundreds of rhetorical figures in the Bible.[44] Like many others they held that it was the greatest literary work. Commentators such as Lyre showed an interest in the psychological motivation of Biblical personages such as Herod, Judas, and of course Christ Himself. This was reflected particularly in the treatment of characters/people/personages in the more affective and meditative/imaginative Lives of Christ such as the Pseudo-Bonaventurean Meditationes Vitae Christi, Love's Mirrour, and the Speculum Devotorum. Analysis of authorial roles was also provided for by a theory of *personae*: for example David was variously repentant sinner, king, prophet or saint. Solomon was credited with a 'modus dramatis' by William of St. Thierry.[45] Gerhoh of Reichersberg propounded a theory of 'characteres scripturae' (c.1144-69) in which an author may speak words as from himself *de suo* 'exegematically', or dramatically, or both at once.[46] With such a commentary-tradition behind them translators were better placed to employ a considerable literary sophistication in appraising their sources, translating them and making new English works.

The translator of the Speculum Devotorum told his reader in his prologue that he brought in 'doctorys' to expound the gospel, as was seen above (p.10) Bonaventure's view of the role of the commentator as using the materials of others as principal materials with his own annexed for the purposes of clarification was echoed by the Speculum Devotorum, whose writer claims to add nothing of his own but that which may be conceived by the security of open reason and good conscience.[87]

Orm, in his rendering of the life of Christ, did not wish merely to relate events; he rather, like many other medieval writers, wished to transmit orthodox teaching on the *Vita*. Therefore he interspersed his narrative with commentary, in order to tell what the gospel means.' Þat tatt te Goddspell menebb'.[88] The word 'menebb' has a stronger connotation than today of the sense of intended meaning. He expounded by commenting as he went through the historical sequence. As he put it,

> Forr whase mot to laewedd follc
> Larspell off Goddspell tellenn,
> He mot wel ekenn manig word
> Amang Goddspelless wordess.[89]

The commentary-material was provided by an act of 'compiling'. It was not original material, but because it was put by Orm into his own English words for the purposes of elucidation he can be seen as a commentator, fitting into Bonaventure's definition.

Also it is seen here that the act of translation forces together the related roles of commentator and compiler.

The Lives of Christ were designed to be faithful expositions of Christ's words and deeds and Sacred Humanity, His 'dede & sawes' and His 'manhede'. For example Nicholas Love saw himself as partaking in a tradition of clarifying what was latent in the gospels for *symple soules*, both in providing his own elucidation and by his translating a source which expounded the Life of Christ in a manner plainer than the evangelists did themselves.[70] The *materia* of the literal-historical sense could be translated, and remain laden with *auctoritas*.[71] The writer of the Speculum Devotorum, following 'Lire' and Peter Comestor, for the literal, and historical, senses respectively, took on the role of commentator. His own commentary-practice consisted of perhaps giving a Latin text, followed by a close English translation, followed by a longer, more open English rendering. Then he would give some literal-historical exegesis as to how it pertained to the reader for whose utility the book had been made.

The exegetical mode of translation has been seen as being a form of displacement of the original text. For Rita Copeland, the commentaries drawn on by the vernacular translator are held to serve to invoke and also displace the text.[72] Though her article deals with Boethian tradition and not the devotional or Biblical texts on which this thesis concentrates the fact that it centrally concerns itself with the relationship between

translation and commentary-tradition and *auctores* has direct implications for Lives of Christ, which also draw on exegetical tradition and *auctores*.

The use of the term 'displacement' in application to exegetical translation implies that the source text is being displaced from its cultural position in some way. However, because the source may never have had a presence in the vernacular culture, it could not be displaced. The concept of displacement can be rather misleading because a translation generally valorises its source. It has already been seen (above, pp.61-62) how Chaucer, albeit somewhat in game, argues in his prologue to Melibee, that his re-treatment of his source, though apparently different from more familiar renderings, is nevertheless dutiful to the *sentence* of the original, and hence does not in any way displace it. The rather reductive mechanicism of the concept of displacement does not do justice to the variable complexities of inter-relationships between source and translation as conceived of by the translator and as received by a diverse audience, who may (well or imperfectly) know or may not know the source. Translation can more readily be be seen thus; not that the vernacular culture is merely unilaterally appropriating and aggrandising itself through translation, but that the original and its ideology are 'imperialising' and modifying the target culture. This is especially so with medieval vernacularisations of authoritative works, in whose case the culture of the original is extensively the same culture as

the vernacular culture. The vernacular culture can also be seen as a subculture imposed on from the heights of the mainstream authoritative Latin Christian culture.

Commentary is not displacement of the Bible as far as the Middle English Lives of Christ are concerned. They would not regard themselves as competing with anything, not even each other; for they are supreme, 'souereyn'. They complement, supplement, redimension, reorient the *matere* for differing audiences. Whether the translation has displaced a source depends on the nature of reception. For example, nothing would have been displaced in the case of a simple soul who has not read any Latin Life of Christ; but for a learned (and perhaps lazy) person, the Mirrour, say, might actually displace the Meditationes Vitae Christi. However, knowledge of the gospels or of the original is not necessarily displaced: it may even be preserved. A reader in the process of responding to a Life of Christ may read back to an original through the translation, and read the translation according to knowledge of the gospels, perhaps both at the same time. Also, as Rolle put it, a translation may bring the simple English reader to many Latin words, thereby enhancing the position of the original and making the use of the source easier.[73] Likewise, Chaucer's Boece provides an increased access to the original, refracted through the orthodox glosses of Trevet and the commentary-translation of Jean de Meun (see Appendix II, below).

It is feasible to see a translation as a further manifestation of the source, not just a displacement of it. Actually, there is more likely to be displacement within the vernacular culture of translations by newer translations; for example, Chaucer's Boethius was outdone to some extent by Walton's version, which responded to both the *sapientia* of commentary-tradition and the *eloquentia* of the original by virtue of its stanzaic form. On the other hand the various versions of the passion-section of the Meditationes Vitae Christi made in the fourteenth century in no way displaced either the original or each other, because each had its own isolated audience and individual literary procedures.[74] In the fifteenth century, however, Love's Mirrour was very widely read; though, to be sure, it is never possible to know for certain how much the earlier versions would have been used anyway in the 1400's. Perhaps, in that some of them exist in fifteenth-century manuscripts, it could be conjectured that the fame of Love's Mirrour might have made other attempts at the same original more likely to be preserved or read.

So, how far are the Lives of Christ substitutive? They are so in the narrow sense that they may have been used instead of the Bible or other Lives of Christ (French or Latin) for certain audiences; but they are not in that they do not pretend to be the Bible, but 'writynge' and scripture, not scripture *per se*, as Love put it in his *proheme*.[75] They knowingly participate in a larger tradition. They always witness to where they are from and to where they are going, not that they are replacements. They

could be called with reason 'from/to'-texts not 'instead of'-texts.

V. VERNACULAR TRANSLATORS, MIDDLE ENGLISH LIVES OF CHRIST, AND THE LITERARY ROLE OF THE PREACHER

We must never lose sight of the fact that these Lives were generally made by preachers. The obligations of the commentator were also part of the preacher's office, but a preacher additionally had a special relationship with God of grace as an instrument of the divine authority which moved, permitted, and validated his conduct and which was also the end of his duties. The preacher also had a special duty to his flock, whom he taught the rudiments of the faith and Christian behaviour.

Raymond Lull called preaching 'the highst, the most difficult, and the most noble office'.[76] The first and greatest preacher was God the Father, Whom Humbert of Romans dubbed a *magister* as 'Master of Preachers'; and Whom Christ, the ultimate in human preaching, followed.[77] As Robert of Basevorn expressed it in his Forma Praedicandi:

> God preached...to Adam... Afterward He preached frequently through angels...through Moses and some Prophets...through John the Baptist...And at last He

> Himself, taking on a human soul and body in the unity of substance came preaching the same theme which his precursor had preached before.'[78]

To preach was to imitate Christ, Who, as the Speculum Devotorum puts it, in His ministry, 'yhe may thenke how he goth forthe into ȝe worlde. And precheth ȝe kyngedome of god, and ȝe waye to euerlastynge lyfe'.[79] Hence the life of Christ was all the more suitable a subject for the literary activity of preachers.

In his influential Compendium on the Art of Preaching, Alan of Lille, paraphrasing two instructions from Jesus in Matthew X.27, defines preaching as 'manifest and public instruction in faith and morals, zealously serving the information of mankind, proceeding by the narrow path of reason and the fountain of authority'.[80] Also, preaching is a very special kind of discourse because it transcends the normal rhetoric and dialectic of language use, having its own *loci* in the Sacred Page, where proofs of irrefutable quality are always to be found. Little wonder then, that Aquinas called preachers the 'mouth of Christ, and described preaching as 'the noblest of all ecclesiastical functions'.[81]

In his office the preacher mediated *auctoritas* to his flock:

> There are two lights, a greater and a smaller one, that is to say, the wiser men and the less wise; the day signifies the wise men, and the night the uninformed. The greater light illuminates the day, for the wiser men instruct those who are more able. What is Augustine if not a sun in the Church? to [*sic*] whom does he speak if not to the wise? You, however, the priests, knowing less, are the smaller light, you illuminate the light, for you preside over the laity who do not know the Scripture and remain in the darkness of ignorance."[2]

A preacher mediated authority to his flock because he knew what to teach, and because he was ordained by God and submitted to His will. Therefore, a preacher was seen as an instrumental efficient cause, with God as the higher efficient cause. Among the many treatises on preaching we find, in the Forma Praedicandi of Robert of Basevorn (written c.1322), a conflation of efficient causality and final causality. In his Aristotelian prologue, Basevorn stated that God was the end of the preacher's activity, and at the same time part of the means for effecting that objective. As he says:

> The final cause is designated when it is said: 'The Lord stood with me and strengthened me', for He is my end;...He who is also the end may be the efficient cause affecting the whole."[3]

To effect the objective a preacher also needed a pure and humble intention, and he needed to be a good man. All manner of problems were held to be possible if this were not so. The fourteenth century witnessed a controversy as to whether the sacrament or sermon of sinful priest, or a priest of impure intention, actually worked. Comments which the Middle Ages attributed to Thomas Aquinas in a work named De Arte Praedicandi stated that 'two things are necessary for preachers, that they may lead to Christ. The first is an orderly discourse; the second is the virtue of good works'.[64] The slippery problem of Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale, to which Chaucer characteristically offered no solution, is that an excellent exemplum is told by an evil man with an evil intention.[65] Wycliffe was fiercely strict on this point. He held that preaching had greater priority than the Eucharist. In De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae, he wrote that 'predicacio verbi dei est actus solempnior quam confeccio sacramenti'.[66] Wycliffe believed that Holy Scripture could be ruined by a writer's or preacher's impure intention:

> Si sensus sacer inscribitur menti sacre, tunc scriptura est sacra, et ut videtur, si mens sit maculata scripturam continens, tunc quedam scriptura, que est diccio peccatoris, est scriptura falsa, licet sit alia prior immaculata.[67]

Accordingly the translators of the second version of the Wycliffite Bible portrayed themselves as well-intentioned, morally-living men. It should be remembered that the performance of the preacher was permitted and defined by the grace of God, as it related to the intended profitability of the book to the audience.[88] Or, as Humbert of Romans put it in a treatise on preaching, the preacher should 'preach according to the needs of his hearers, as St. Gregory advises in his Pastoral'. He continues:

> Finally, the preacher should be aware that the skill he possesses results from knowledge communicated by the Holy Ghost...Happy are those who are provided with this knowledge which makes up for the imperfections of all other kinds of learning![89]

Likewise Alan of Lille wrote that the preacher should tailor his preaching to his audience, with a view to their social station, wealth, and their sins.[90]

Preaching and translation were often linked in the Middle Ages. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 stressed the importance of preaching to the masses, and the Decrees of the Council of Oxford of 1222 formalised the commitment of the English church to the production of vernacular manuals, treatises and narratives. Such works, however, were not conceived of as vernacular versions of the Bible in the Wycliffite sense. Generally, the nearest the

laity got to the Bible-text was paraphrases, sermons expounding a Latin Biblical quotation, or Biblical art in churches. The Biblical text was almost exclusively reserved for the clergy. It was enough, as Langland put it, for a poor man to pierce with Paternoster the Palace of Heaven."[1] Nevertheless there survives an immense corpus of religious literature derived from the Bible and writings and commentary on the Bible intended to provide the faithful with edification. English Carthusians like Nicholas Love and the compiler of the Speculum Devotorum were obliged to make devotional books. This was a form of long-range preaching.

Alan of Lille, in his Compendium on the Art of Preaching, enumerated three different types of preaching, backing each of these up with an authority:

> The first is done by word of mouth, as in the command of the Lord, "Go, preach the Gospel to every creature, etc." (Mark 16); the second is done by writing, as when St Paul said that he had preached to the Corinthians because he had written them letters; and the third is done by example, as it is written, "Every action of Christ is our instruction".[2]

Two important Carthusian Lives of Christ, the Speculum Devotorum and the Mirrour of Nicholas Love, are cast in an epistolary style. Both regarded their literary activity as a preacherly role. John Trevisa (c.1342-1402), in his Dialogue between a Lord

and Clerk upon Translation (1387), equated preaching with translation, because to translate is a similar duty to preaching, i.e. providing the people with vernacular Christian teaching.

> Also holy wryt in Latyn ys bope good and fayr, and 3et for to make a sermon of holy wryt al yn Latyn to men þat konneþ Englysch and no Latyn hyt were a lewed dede, vor hy buþ neuere þe wyser vor þe Latyn bote hyt be told hem an Englysch what hyt ys to mene, and hyt may no3t be told an Englysch what þe Latyn ys to mene withoute translacion out of Latyn into Englysch. Þanne hyt neded to haue an Englysch translacion. And for to kepe hyt in muynde þat hyt be not vor3ut hyt ys betre þat such a translacion be ymad and ywryte þan yseyd and no3t ywryte.»

The Lord goes on to over-ride the Clerk's objections that 'þeuse bokes stondeþ moche by holy wryt, by holy doctors and by phylosofy. Þanne þeuse bokes scholde no3t be translated ynto Englysch'. The Lord's first concern, is, however, duty and profitability:

> Also þe gospel and prophecy and þe ry3t fey of holy churche mot be tau3t and ypreched to Englyschmen þat conneþ no Latyn. Þanne þe gospel and prophecy and þe ry3t fey of holy cherche mot be told ham an Englysch, and þat ys no3t ydo bote by Englysch translacion.

> Vor such Englysch prechyng ys verrey Englysch translacion, and such Englysch prechyng ys good and needful; þanne Englysch translacion ys good and needfol.'[24]

Trevisa's equating of preaching and translating argues for a broad-based interpretative conception of medieval translation, incorporating not just the rendering of one source, but compiling from many and elucidating the *sentence* of the work and commentary-tradition differently for different audiences. The medieval transmission-history of Trevisa's Dialogue witnesses a variant in Caxton's edition of 1482, which refers to the Septuagint translators as 'interpretours'.[25] The pressure of tradition in adding this word is in itself significant, for again translation is defined as interpretative exegetical activity, as is preaching. The Early Version of the Northern Homily Collection, for example, expounds the Sunday Gospels to the unlearned in English, this being both preaching and translation (see above, p.59).

The vernacular exegetical homiletics of Orm are a case in point. His Life of Christ, being at once the work of a preacher, commentator and translator, is worth examining at greater length. Considering his work was produced in the twelfth century, and is the first known English Life of Christ, it shows considerable sophistication and a genuine academic literary sensibility. The

prologue is theory-rich, and bears some of the hallmarks of the twin tradition of prologue and commentary.

The Ormulum has a structure influenced by the preaching of the gospel. The manner is as follows. Firstly a theme is announced, then a Biblical passage is referred to, and then rendered; which is followed by preacherly exposition, normally at length. Expository sources used include the Glossa Ordinaria and the Pseudo-Anselmian Enarrationes in Matthaeum, and even Anglo-Saxon works."[6]

At all times with Orm, the *sentence* or 'lare' and the 'frame' (profit) or 'sawles nede' are the priority. As he puts it in the Dedication which opens the work:

Icc hafe wennd inntill Ennglissh
Goddspelless hallȝhe lare...(11.13-14)

The teaching is expressed in the gospels' words and in the glossing. The *intentio* and *utilitas* of the work, as expressed in the words 'wille' (1.12) and 'frame' (1.18), respectively, are that English people should follow the teaching of the gospels:

þu þohhtesst tatt itt mihhte wel
Till mikell frame turrnenn,
3iff Ennglissh follc, forr lufe off Crist,
Itt wollde ȝerne lernenn,

7 follȝhenn itt, 7 fillenn itt
wiþþ þohht, wiþþ word, wiþþ dede. (17-22)

In lines 325-34 Orm asks for the prayers of the users of the book, so that he will find 'soþ blisse'. Likewise, another preacher, the translator of the Early Version of the Northern Homily Collection would pray for grace (together with his reader) so that the work might be brought to a good end and the maker of the book go to Heaven as 'mede' for making the work."[7] That is also an element of the utility of the work, the spiritual welfare of its maker. Orm's act of will in producing the work is also an act of pious compliance for his 'broþerr Wallterr', who asked him to make the work; and this sharing of will is reflected in the deliberate use, in the Dedication, of the dual form of the first person pronoun (e.g. 'unnc', 1.27). The rather liturgical phrase, 'wiþþ þohht, wiþþ word, wiþþ dede', like the related expression, 'hert...tung...dede', oft-repeated thoughout the Dedication, is not just padding. On the contrary, it emphasises the nature of the work, for he intends to translate not only into English words, but, by extension, into English thoughts and thence into English deeds. Such repeated phrases also act as periodic incantatory refrains; for the Ormulum is, metrically, highly self-conscious. The chosen verse-format was evidently very important to Orm. The metre, no less than the idiosyncratic orthography (so he instructs future scribes), must be accurately copied from the first exemplar, 'þiss firrste bisne' (1.100):

Vi þþ all swillc rime alls her iss sett,

Vi þþ all se fele worrdess. (11.101-2)

The refrains invariably refer to a key aspect of the *modus agendi* or *utilitas*, re-expressing that the book is a harmonization and exposition of the gospels for the spiritual benefit of its audience. It is also repeated that the book is written through the motive and permissive grace of God 'all þurrh Cristess hellpe' (11.26, 90).

As for the manner of translating, the gospels from the 'messeboc' (1.31) have been put together in one English book, i.e. 'sammnedd' (1.29), thereby making a harmonic compilation following the Life of Christ and the Church year. In the preface subsequent to the Dedication Orm invokes the concept of gospel harmony through his reworking of the standard exposition of the gospel as the four-wheeled waggon of 'Amminadab' and 'Salemann' (11.1-104).

Orm explains his method of exposition:

7 33 afterr þe Goddspell stannt

þatt tatt te Goddspell menebb,

þatt mann birrþ spellenn to þe follc

Off þezzre sawle nede... (Dedication, 11.33-36)

He will cite the gospel text, and then expound it for the particular needs of his audience. Orm makes an interesting distinction between the two types of 'wordess' which he has 'ekedd' 'amang Goddspelless wordess', i.e. those which are there to fill up the verse, and those which are there for the purpose of elucidation:

> Icc hafe sett her o þiss boc
> Amang Goddspelless wordess,
> All þurrh me sellfenn, manig word
> þe rime swa to fillenn;
> Acc þu shallt findenn þatt min word,
> Eȝȝwhær þær itt iss ekedd,
> Maȝȝ hellpenn þa þatt redenn itt
> To sen7 tunnderrstanndenn
> All þess te bettre, hu þeȝȝm birrþ
> þe Goddspell unnderrstanndenn... (ll.41-50)

In the manner of the commentator he takes responsibility for the added words which provide elucidation: these words are 'ekedd' 'all þurrh me sellfenn'. The fact that they are regarded as additional, and kept apart in the order of exposition, maintains the distinction between the text and the gloss. In the same spirit he beseeches Wallterr to examine the book repeatedly to see that it contains nothing unorthodox, for unorthodooxy deserves to be thrown out and trodden underfoot (ll.65-78). The primacy of the gospels as the well-spring of the Ormulum is also

symptomatised by the table of properly referenced Latin *incipits* (11.335-42) which he points out he has provided.

After the manner of the academic prologue's concern with the *nomen libri* (see below, p.104) Orm provides two apposite expositions of names. The first is of 'Goddspell' (11.157-320) which is extrapolated at great length into a consideration of the 'godnessess' of Christ. The second is a short justification of the name 'Ormulum' (11.321-4), which, of course, being derived from Orm's name, is reminiscent of commentary-tradition's and the academic prologue's consideration of the *nomen auctoris* (see below, pp.105), the name of the author as well as the name of the book. An explanation for the name of the work is repeated in 11.1-2 of the Introduction following the table of Latin *incipits*. This concern with proper names is a foretaste of the onomastic expositions in the main body of the work.

To exemplify Orm's approach, let us examine his first stage of rendering the literal and historical sense of the gospel text, to which he stays quite close:

SECUNDUM MATHEUM XIX

Venit IHC a Galilea in Jordanem ad Johannem ut baptizaretur.

Unnderr þa daȝhess, alls uss seȝȝþ
Hafeow þe Goddspellwrihhte,

Comm Jesu Crist off Galileo

Fra Nazaræþess chesstre

Till flumm Jorrdan, till Sannt Johan

þær he stod follc to fullhtnenn,

7 Crist ta wollde fullhtnedd beon

Att Sannt Johaness hande;

7 Sannt Johan droh himm o bacch

7 nolde he Crist nohht fullhtnenn,

7 seȝȝde; naȝȝ, lef Laferrd, naȝȝ.

Ne darr i þe nohht fullhtnenn;

Ne birrþ beon fullhtnedd att tin hannd,

þin blettsinng tunnderrganngenn,

7 tu, min Laferrd, cumesst her

Att me to wurrþenn fullhtned? (ll.10648-10663)

Tunc venit Jesus a Galilæa in Jordanem ad Joannem, ut baptizaretur ab eo. Joannes autem prohibebat eum, dicens: Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me? (Matthew III.12-14)

Orm takes care to identify in English which of the four evangelical *auctores* is being translated. The translating is idiomatic, and contains small additions which clarify, and also to an extent dramatise, the gospel text. 'Unnderr þa daȝȝhess' is an idiomatic expansion of 'tunc', and the mention of Nazareth is additional information. 'þær he stod follc to fullhtnenn' is additional too, and with a certain emphasis gained from the

alliteration, reminds the audience of John's practice of mass-baptism, which is important, because in that Jesus chooses to be baptised He humbles Himself. The two references to hands are idiomatic. The dependent clause 'ut baptizaretur' is turned into a main clause, '. Crist ta wollde fullhtnedd beon' which, connected to its predecessor with '7', highlights narrative sequentiality, as also does the shift into lines of verse with strong caesuras (the caesuras being represented in Holt's edition by indented lineation), each of which deals with a progression. The word 'ta' brings out the point that Christ wishes to be one of the crowd. This line also stands to be echoed in the antithetical and doubly negated 7 nollde he Crist nohht fullhtnenn', which renders 'prohibebat eum'. Also, more dramatically, John draws back physically in the English, and is given suitable English words with which forcefully to object to Jesus's wish: 'naȝȝ, lef Laferrd, naȝȝ'. 'ȝin blettsinng tunnderrganngenn' is a purely emphatic addition, and 'et tu venis ad me?' is expanded in the last two lines to highlight the premise of the question, that Jesus is, indeed, 'Laferrd'.

When Orm moves from his paraphrasing of the gospels to his exegetical preaching on them, he marks out, in the same re-usable verses, the transition thus:

Her endeþþ nu þiss Goddspell þuss
7 uss birrþ itt þurrhsekenn
To lokenn whatt itt læreþþ uss

Off ure sawle nede. (ll.10684-7)

In expounding the 'lare', he draws from his Latin commentaries with great care, sometimes preferring one to another, and at other times conflating them.[pg] A good idea of Orm's behaviour as a commentator can be gained from the homily on the Three Temptations of Christ in the desert, which is, ostensibly, an exposition of Matthew IV.5, but which discusses the different order of temptations to be found in Luke IV.5 and Matthew IV.5. This same discussion is to be found in the Glossa Ordinaria at the appropriate place in the commentary on each of the gospels, but Orm's actual wording is closer to Pseudo-Anselm.[pg] But, it should be said, Orm's choice of wording from one commentary does not preclude influence from other concordant commentaries. Though he generally draws on the Glossa Ordinaria, his use of a concordant Pseudo-Anselmian wording could most credibly have been been encouraged and/or underwritten by the Glossa itself, which twice authorised the Pseudo-Anselmian interpretation. The fact that his discussion of the order of the three temptations is closer in wording to Pseudo-Anselm may mean no more than he used Pseudo-Anselm's words as opposed to someone else's, which might just as easily have been used. So, Orm was not merely writing with recourse to commentaries as individual entities; on the contrary, it would appear to be the case that he was writing with commentary-tradition in his bones, in order to approach the *sentence* of the Gospels. By the same token, Orm, and indeed any translator of a Life of Christ or of another authoritative work,

may respond with particular complexity to a hierarchy or 'canonicity' within commentary-tradition itself, in which, paradoxically, the words may be from one commentator, but the *auctoritas* and *sententia* for drawing on them from another. This brings a specifically medieval and academic dimension to the Hieronymic tradition of translating not word-for-word but according to the *sentence*.

As a preacher, Orm sometimes ends a homily with an exhortation. The angels who serve Christ are regarded as an example for the audience:

> 7 Godd Allmahhtiȝ ȝife uss swa
> To þeowwtenn Crist tocweme,
> Swa þatt we motenn wurrþi ben
> To winnenn eche blisse. (ll.12562-5)

Generally though, this work provides the best exposition of its day in the vernacular from the point of view of understanding the 'lare' of the gospels. It is not an affective or rhetorically intense work. Nevertheless, for its time, it is the best sort of translation of the Life of Christ, supported and enhanced by the best theoretical procedures and postures.

VI. VERNACULAR TRANSLATORS, MIDDLE ENGLISH LIVES OF CHRIST, AND THE SCHOLASTIC LITERARY PROLOGUE

The terminology and procedures of exposition used in medieval commentary-tradition had a profound effect on the Middle English Lives of Christ. This was especially true of the prologues to commentaries on texts of *auctoritas* which offered comprehensive series of terms by which a text could be appraised. These categories covered severally the title of the book, the name and life of the author, the author's intention, subject matter and sources, procedure and style, structure and order, the area of human knowledge to which the work belonged, and the utility of the work.[100]

The academic prologue was derived from the first of a series of lectures. The introductory lecture would provide students with an analytical framework for appraising an *auctor*. This consisted of a comprehensive series of headings. If a course of lectures were put into book form, then this first lecture would become the prologue to the published commentary on the *auctor*. Such prologues were standard. They were rich repositories of scholastic literary terminology and attitudes. They provided a model, according to which an educated person would read, write, think and theorise about important literature.

The typical prologue-paradigm of the twelfth century was common to all academic disciplines. It was known to artists as

an *accessus*, to lawyers as a *materia*, to theologians as an *ingressus* or an *introitus*. These were the characteristic headings:

Titulus/Nomen libri: this is the title of the book.

Nomen auctoris: literally, 'the name of the author', under which heading were considered any problems concerning the authenticity of the work, that is, whether or not a genuine *auctor* wrote it. The name of the author might be etymologised. In his prologue to his rendering of the life of St. Augustine John Capgrave claims that the saint was worthy because of the noble etymology attaching to his name, for it involved the notion of increasing ('augeo'), a characteristic of an *auctor*.'[101] Also under this heading the life of the author might be dealt with. We noted earlier that a work of authority should be written by a man of great morality as well as wisdom.'[102]

Intentio auctoris: this is the moral, spiritual or didactic purpose inherent in the work. It does not correspond neatly with what we might call today 'authorial intention', because the text would be read with a certain Christian theological and ethical prescriptivism which sometimes over-rode the actual intention in the mind of the writer. If the author were a pagan, his work might well be allegorised. In the case of Holy Scripture there was a greater respect for its authors, but in earlier medieval exegesis the literal sense of their text was often submerged

under a general network of allegory, which militated against appraisal of the Bible as consisting of a number of different books in different genres and *modi* by different *auctores*.

Materia libri: this category involves both the subject matter/content expounded in the work, and also the source materials used by the author in constructing his own text.

Modus agendi/procedendi/scribendi/tractandi: this would concern the style and the didactic procedures employed by an author.

Ordo libri: this is the disposition, sequence and arrangement of materials.

Utilitas: this category raised the question of the utility of the book, and what good it would do in Christian, moral, and didactic terms, for those who read it.

Cui parti philosophiae supponitur: under this heading was discussed the branch of human knowledge to which the work belonged. With literature it was very often ethics.

There was great variety in the length and elaboration of prologues. The following prologue was an introduction to Physiologus:

Accessus Phisiologi

Iste libellus intitulatur *Phisiologus*. *Phisis* grece, latine natura, *logos* grece, latine sermo, inde *Phisiologus* id est naturalis sermo. Materia eius sunt animalia quae introducuntur in eo, intentio eius est delectare in animalibus et prodesse in figuris, utilitas est ut naturas et figuras animalium cognoscamus. Phisicae supponitur quia de naturis animalium tractat.

Introduction to the *Physiologus*

This book is entitled *Phisiologus*. *Phisis* in Greek is *natura* ('nature') in Latin, *logos* in Greek is *sermo* ('discourse') in Latin. Hence *Phisiologus* is a discourse about nature. The animals which are introduced into it form its subject-matter. Its intention is to provide amusement in the form of the animals and to edify in its use of figures. Its usefulness is that we should learn of the natures of animals and their figurative properties. It pertains to physical science because it deals with the natures of animals.[103]

It is terse but systematic. On the other hand the gloss of Arnulf of Orleans on Lucan was considerably longer.[104] It gave biographical material, etymologised the author's name, described the material as being devoted to Caesar and Pompey (*materia*),

showed the intention (*intencio*) of dealing with an historical episode, and revealed that the utility of the work was to prevent civil war. It pertained to ethics (*ethice supponitur*) because it encouraged self-control, wisdom, justice, courage, and good political morality in its exemplary characters.

In the thirteenth century, the traditional *accessus*-type prologue-paradigm was challenged, supplemented and sharpened up by the Aristotelian prologue. This prologue used the four causes; efficient, material, formal and final. Though the newer paradigm enjoyed enormous academic vogue, the older *accessus* type of terminology persisted. Therefore when academic terminology of the older type is encountered in texts from the later medieval period it is possible that it is being used with an Aristotelian outlook, especially with regard to authorial intention and the literal sense. The four causes of a text were categorised as follows:

Causa efficiens, or efficient cause: this was the author, or in the case of the double efficient cause (*duplex causa efficiens*) of the Bible, God and the inspired human author. Such a distinction could be made in the case of preaching, with God as a moving, permitting and guaranteeing efficient cause and the preacher as operating efficient cause.

Causa materialis, or material cause: this was the subject matter and also the actual sources used to construct the work.

Causa formalis, or formal cause: this was the form chosen for the work by the human author. The formal cause was sometimes subdivided into two elements: firstly *forma tractandi*, i.e. the style, form of treatment of the author. The procedures which the author had adopted to treat his materials would be discussed. The second element was *forma tractatus*, sometimes known as *ordinatio libri*. This category involved the disposition of materials, their order and division. It was in the area of *forma tractatus* that medieval compilers had their greatest freedom and achievements.

Causa finalis, or final cause: this was the objective, both of the text and its author. This category comprises the *accessus* vocabulary of *utilitas*, *intentio*, and *cui parti philosophiae supponitur*.

A good example of an Aristotelian treatment is that of the text of the gospel of Mark by Hugh of St. Cher, who described the efficient cause as Mark or the grace of God; the material cause as Christ and His works; the formal cause or mode of treatment comprising few words and many profundities; and the final cause, as St. John says, being that, 'these things are written that you may believe, and that believing you may have life'.[105]

The efficient cause is interesting among other reasons because it deals with the nature of authorship.[106] The notion of a moving efficient cause (the grace of God) permitting, validating

and stirring the operating efficient cause, that is the translators, had implications for them. It gave them freedom as junior partners who had been given a warrant to take decisions into their own hands. At the same time it provided them with the idea they were submitting themselves to the will of God as humble instruments or agents for the transmission of His teaching. Aquinas related 'instrumentality' to grace. He wrote that authority passed from a higher principal cause to a lesser through grace, which produced an effect of an order higher than its own proper lesser order.'[107]

The *accessus* and Aristotelian paradigms were taken into English literary culture, notably so in translators' prologues. However, the English prologues were not so rigidly divided under headings. The vernacular writers 'naturalised' and loosened the scholastic prologue. This is because they were familiar with it, and because the prologue itself was capable of considerable flexibility. At a more exalted level, the flexibility of the scholastic prologue had already been proved. This can be seen in the case of the Speculum maius of Vincent of Beauvais.'[108] This work had a series of prologues, each corresponding to its appropriate section of the text. However, when it was revised the prologues were also revised to re-tune them into the altered text. And so, the scholastic prologue was adaptable. It could be both generalised and fine-tuned. It was not as cumbersome and artificial as it might seem at first sight to the modern reader.

The prologue to Richard Rolle's English Psalter is a classic instance of a vernacular adaptation of the scholastic prologue, in which care is taken to demonstrate that the key headings, 'mater' (*materia*), 'entent' (*intentio*), 'maner of lare' (*modus agendi*), have each been considered:

> Þe mater of þis boke es Crist and his spouse, þat es, haly kirk, or ilke a rightwys mans saule. Þe entent es to conformme þo þat ere fyled in Adam tille Crist in newnes of lyf. Þe maner of lare es swilke: vmstunt he spekys of Crist in his godhede, vmstunt in his manhede, vmstunt in þat þat he vses þe voyce of his servauntes. Als so he spekys of haly kirk in thre maners: vmwhile in þe persone of parfite men, summe tyme in persoun of vnparfit menne, summe tyme of ille menne, þe whilke are in haly kirk be body noght be thoght, be name noght be dede, in noumbyr noght in merite. [109]

Earlier in this prologue (which includes much skilfully constructed reworking of authoritative writers like Peter Lombard, St Augustine and Cassiodorus) Rolle considers these, and other, categories at length, without labelling them. For instance he discusses the manifold benefits (*utilitas* and therefore also *intentio*) of the Psalter, i.e. its 'grete habundans of gastly conforth and ioy', its capacity to chase away fiends and bring angels to our help, and its teaching of the Ten

Commandments (among many other uses).''[10] Also, in the same passage, the *nomen libri* is expounded: 'þis boke es called þe psauter, þe whilke name it has of a instrument of musyke þat...in Inglis es to touche', its ten strings representing the Ten Commandments, thereby establishing a meaningful link between *nomen libri* and *materia*. The 'mater' and its *ordinatio* are also discussed, as falling into three parts, each of fifty psalms, in which the stages (penance, righteousness and 'lovynge (praising lovingly) of endeles lyf') of a Christian's religion are signified. The *manere* and *matere* of the source are compositely considered in the subsequent statement that the Psalter is the perfection of 'dyvyne pagine', containing summarily all that the other books of the Bible treat at length. The *matere* and *manere* of Rolle's own work are compositely considered also when he declares that he will follow 'haly doctours'. He also witnesses to his own 'entent' in adding to Peter Lombard that a function of the Psalter is 'kennand þaime þat are vnkunand'.'''

The prologue to the Englishing of Henry Suso's Orologium Sapientiae, þe Seuene Poyntes of Trewe Loue 7 Visdame', is, in its own way, just as comprehensive and idiomatically academic in assessing its source and itself. The *entent* of the translator is to keep the love of Christ burning in the heart of the sister for whom the book is written. The *modus agendi* of the original, its *processe*, 'stant for þe moste parte in gostlye reuelaciones and deuowt ymaginaciones, in manere of spekynge bye-twix þe maystre, euerlastyng wisdam, 7 þe deuowt discyple þat wrote þe boke'.''[12] In

other words, the book is cast in imaginative, revelatory and dramatic forms, with Christ speaking in the *persona* of Wisdom.

As has been previously noted, the translator declares his considerable alteration of the *forma tractatus* of the original and advertises his decision not to translate word-for-word but according to the open *sentence*. The *nomen libri* of the original is explained and the new title, according to its purposeful new sevenfold division of *materia*, is declared and justified. The name of the author of the original (*nomen auctoris*) is not known, but, more importantly, the authority of his preacherly *officium* is known, for he was a 'frere prechour'. The translator draws on the same office, caring not to name himself either. His imposition of a new name on the work itself is his true hallmark. He points out that his literary activity, in fitting in with spiritual duties, is the proper product of a regular enclosed *vita translatoris*. Like so many other translators 'consideryng þe multitude of bokes 7 tretees drawne in englische, þat nowe bene generalle cominede', he re-affirms the traditional belief in the complementary nature of multiple Englishings of single works and devotional traditions, on the grounds of variability of readership, 'for als miche as þe kynde of manne in þis lyfe haþ likynge in chaunge and diuerse þinges, boþe bodilye 7 gostlye, and summe folke delytene in one 7 summe in anoþer'.[113] The prologue of the Myroure of oure Ladye discusses the retranslatability of works from another angle. Its translator chooses not to retranslate all of the Psalms in his work because

Richard Rolle's Psalter and 'Englysshe bibles' are available to the sisters already.''[4]

The prologue to the Seven Poynts ends with a prayer, both for the translator's own benefit and for his readership. The two prologues to the Myrroure of oure Ladye end likewise with a request to some Brigittine sisters to pray for the translator. In the second prologue the translator, a man aware of the licensing of English Bibles, submits his work, humbly and obediently, to the correction of Holy Church, for he knows his 'owne feoblenes, as well in connyng as in verteu', that is not only in the academic spheres of ability or inability, but also the more important area of his own spiritual status as a fallible man.''[5] The two prologues to this book are in the academic tradition, and governed by its methodology. The consideration of the *entent* and *utilitas* of the work is approached obliquely through the preacherly exposition of a Biblical text whose *sentence* is that daughters of Sion shall praise the Blessed Virgin Mary. The book advances that *entent* by enhancing the quality of their praise. This is to be accomplished by the book's explaining to the sisters, through translation and explication, their divine services and masses, which will profit their souls and give them spiritual comfort, a further *entent* of the work.''[6] The greater the extent of vernacular exposition, the greater the resultant devotion:

> ¶ And in many places where the nakyd letter is thoughe yt be set in englyshe, ys not easy for some symple soulles to vnderstonde; I expounde yt and declare yt more openly, other before the letter, or after or else fourthewyth togyther. ¶ And farthermore, that ye shulde haue the more sprytuall loue, & inwarde delyte and deuocyon, in thys holy seruyce I tell the causes & the meanynges of eche parte therof...'[17]

Such is the basic *manere* of the work. The *matere* has a tripartite *divisio*:

> ¶ ye shall also vnderstonde that thys boke ys deuyded in to thre partyes. For fyrste I haue compyled a lytell treatys of xxiiii. chapytres, wherein ys shewed the condycion of diuine seruyce, whan and where, and in what wyse...The seconde parte ys of youre seuen storyes, accordynge to the seuen dayes of the wyeke. And the thyrde parte is of youre masses.'[18]

He refers to himself here as a compiler, for he has assembled a book for three parts under a single title without interfering with orthodox interpretation of the Brigittine office. The *matere* relating to the seven days is recounted at greater length a little later.'[19]

The *nomen libri* is justified on the grounds the sisters will not see Mary face to face in this life, but by beholding her reflected in the mirror of the book they should come to see her face to face in the afterlife. As with the Speculum Devotorum, the sisters are instructed not to read the work over-hastily, or indiligently, or without thinking of how the teaching of the work can best relate to their conventual life.'[20] A proper *modus agendi* and *entent* are expected of the reader as much as of the translator.

Somewhat differently, the prologue to Osbern Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen makes a display of its Aristotelian provenance. It is a typical medieval combination of artifice and flexibility. Although it is undoubtedly rather pedantic, it does not provide evidence that the life has gone out of the Aristotelian idiom. On the contrary, it is an energetic, discursive and sure-footed re-application of the tradition, which fluently incorporates topical and anecdotal material into its theoretical structures. That a non-innovative and 'correct' writer like Bokenham is drawing on such a tradition is high-quality evidence of its pervasive influence.

The prologue begins with a recapitulative explication of the four causes as applicable to literary works.

> Two thyngys owyth euery clerk
> To aduertysyn, begynnyng a werk,

If he procedyn wyl ordeneelly:

The fyrste is 'what', the secunde is 'why'.

In whych two wurdys, as it semyth me,

The foure causys comprehendyd be,

Vych, as philosofyrs vs do teche,

In the begynnyng man owe to seche

Of euery book; and aftyr there entent

The fyrst is clepyd cause efficyent,

The secunde they clepe cause materyal,

Formal the thrydde, the fourte fynal. (11.1-12)

The use of the word 'aduertysyn' reminds us that the role of theory, in any age, is as much to valorise a work as to explicate it. A properly executed work, he says, should have such a prologue as this one. Bokenham very much pitches the Englishing of Saints' Lives into the academic camp by his references to 'clerks' as the makers of such works and their philosopically-orientated theorisers and judges. The inter-relating of 'what' and 'why' with the four causes may symptomatise a harmonisation of the tradition of rhetorical *circumstantiae* with a cognate Aristotelian tradition. In any case the simplification provided by 'what' and 'why' is appropriate.

The procedures of this prologue are very like the common three-stage technique of the medieval translator, who may gloss the naked letter, then paraphrase the literal sense of the *sensus*; and finally extrapolate on the *sententia* and its

teaching. In the first recognisable section of his prologue, quoted above, Bokenham gives *ad verbum* literalistic gloss-translations of the Latin theoretical terminology. The second phase of the prologue deals with the literal-sense meaning of the terms, starting with the efficient cause:

> The efficyent cause is the auctour,
> Vych aftyr hys cunnyng doth hys labour
> To a-complyse the begunne matere,
> Vych cause is secunde;... (11.13-16)

The term 'auctour' is being used here in the most general sense. Bokenham is not claiming the authority of an evangelist or a Boethius. He quite naturally runs the consideration of one of the causes into the next. The third cause follows on just as easily:

> ...and the more clere
> That it [i.e. the 'matere'] may be, the formal cause
> Settyth in dew ordre clause be clause.
> And these thre thyngys longyn to 'what':
> Auctour, matere, and forme ordinat. (11.16-20)

The duty to elucidate, to make 'more clere', is twinned with the technique of rendering *per cola et commata*, both being characteristic of commentator and translator. The re-imposition of the question 'what' on the first three causes serves all the

more to show how the trio are to be regarded together idiomatically. It also has the effect of highlighting the single member of the 'why' group, the final cause, that is, the use and meaning of a work, which is set apart from all other theoretical terminology:

> The fynal cause declaryth pleynly
> Of the werk begunne the cause why;
> That is to seyne, what was the entent
> Of the auctour fynally, and what he ment.
> Lo! thus ye seen mown compendyously
> How in these two wurdys 'what' and 'why',
> Of eche werk the foure causys aspye
> Men mown, requyryd be philosophye. (11.21-28)

A distinction is made between, on the one hand, the ultimate value or utility of the work ('entent...fynally') and, on the other hand, what the work means ('what he ment'). Such theoretical precision shows that academic literary theory did not affect translators in broad generalities alone, but also in nicer points.

The third phase of the prologue extrapolates on the four causes, and applies them copiously to the work in question. Bokenham's broader consideration of the efficient cause includes a refusal to mention his own name on account of his unworthiness, something of a modesty topos. What he does mention, though, is

his priestly *officium*, as 'an austyn frere' (1.32). The office holds an authority of its own, not unrelated to that of the *officium praedicatoris*. It is not quite true to say, as A.J. Minnis has argued, that the fourteenth-century concept of the *duplex causa efficiens* has been lost from this work.[120] On the contrary:

> ...I lowly beseche
>
> Hym that treuthe is & treuthe doth teche,
>
> The lord that syt a-boue the skye,
>
> That he in treuthe vouchesaf to gye...
>
> Bothe my wyt & eek my pen...(11.931-7)

Later he invokes Christ instead of the Pagan Muses (11.5214-63). Also, in that this is a compilation of Saints' Lives, Bokenham invokes their influence on his endeavour, as with St Margaret (11.936-8), and St Mary (11.1467-96). All the saints are prayed to for their salvific intercession as part and parcel of the making and the reading of then work. At this point, as with Basevorn, there is a meeting of efficient and final causality, of the work's motive power and its end.

The 'matere', which is summarised in a few cursory lines, is the 'lyf of the blyssyd Margarete' (1.75), this being the first of the Lives in the compilation. As for the formal cause, here called the 'forme of procedyng' (an ideologicaly naturalised conflation, so it would appear, of *forma tractandi* and *modus*

procedendi), it is discussed in the third phase not in terms of commentary-translation, for that has already been done, but with regard to Bokenham's inability as a *makere* or *rhetor* in the tradition of Geoffrey of Vinsauf. Instead he will translate as near as possible to the story of the legend. Bokenham goes into further detail about his *forme of procedyng*, for it seems that he himself copied and compiled his Latin sources with the express intention of Englishing them. He tells us that he went to Italy and, detained by rain at the Shrine of St Margaret, wrote down what he had read and heard there 'bothe be scripture and eek be mowthe' (l.109):

> And al the processe I dede owt wryte
> Wych I purpose now to declare
> On ynglysh, & it brout wyth me to Clare (ll.120-3)

This degree of autobiographical detail in describing the formal cause is illuminating, not just because it tells us what the translator actually did, but also because it shows the spontaneous application of the theory to an anecdotal description of practice. The discussion of final causality also has the personal touch, for Bokenham tells the tale of the origin of his veneration for St Margaret. He was saved from a 'cruel tyraunth...and fyue mo men' near Venice by a ring with which he had touched the saint's bare foot, which is credited with the power of saving from danger people who touch it with a brooch. This stirred him all the more 'her lyf to translate' (ll.133-

176). The fact that Bokenham provides all this autobiographical information and yet wishes not to reveal his name is not merely a symptom of immodesty. The question of immodesty is not really the issue here anyway, because the personal details are unconnected with self-aggrandisement. Instead they witness to a true experience of the saint's power, which may be 'shewyd/ Bothe on lernyd & eek on lewyd (ll.145-6).'[22] Bokenham is a Christian witness. Even though he may not be particularly sincere in the use of modesty topoi as such, his piety, pure intention, and respect for his *matere*, which is what actually counts, are all beyond question.

Before Bokenham's discussion of the personal dimension of final causality , the first, general, final cause is described, that of exciting men to devotion. This presumably includes women because some of his *Legendys* are dedicated to women like Kathryn Denston (ll.1466, 7364) and the Countess of Oxford, Elizabeth Vere (ll.5054, 9536, 10613) Kathryn Howard (ll.6365, 7364) and Agatha Fleg (l.8340):

> But who-so wyl aske me fynally
> Of thys translacyoun the cause why
> In to oure language, I sey causys two
> Most pryncypally me meuyd ther-to.
> The fyrst cause is for to excyte
> Mennys affeccyoun to haue delyte
> Thys blyssyd virgyne to loue & serue,

From alle myscheuys hem to preserue (ll.123-30)

Further final causality is discussed, again at length. He was moved to translate by the request of a friend, whom Bokenham, with topical modesty, asks to protect him from the Cambridge wits by not telling them his name. Also, Bokenham hopes to purchase a pardon through the merits of the saint (175-240).

Bokenham, though at times a little like the eagle in Chaucer's House of Fame, does not betray or stultify the Aristotelian idiom, counter to what has been argued elsewhere.[22] The energy of his use of it and the discursive diversity of materials and postures he works into the genre of the Four Causes prologue show the tradition to be alive and serviceable. Bokenham does exercise considerable free rein within the format. It would be wrong to expect him to show the same imagination in procedure and and playing or subversion of theoretical tradition as with Gower or Chaucer; for Bokenham is writing serious hagiography, not a mock-*compilatio* with fictional pilgrim-*auctores*, or tales of love.

An interesting example of a 'loosened' Middle English Life of Christ prologue is found in a fifteenth century Life of Christ called The Mirroure of Mans Saluacionne, a translation of the early fourteenth century Speculum Humanae Salvationis, which was a much-used verse Life specializing in a typological approach and making use of Comestor. The translator's own 'proheeme' is a

naturalisation into English of the scholastic scheme of headings.

Its fourth line has an interlinear gloss:

In name of God almyghti / þe blyssed Trinitee
In o substaunce vntwynned / and eure in persones
thre
And in oure laydis honoure / hevenes souereyne
qwene
v. myne intent... v. myne werk
þat most myne hert & hand / gouerne if wele
schall bene
And for some of my freendes / plesance in speciall
And for increse of grace / and also sawles mede
Thenk I a buke translat / god lykyng me to spede
ffro latyn of now late / a compilacione
The miroure is named it / of mannes saluacione
And in this bokes proheme / be chapitles frist
write I
The maters & the estories / euerylkone by and by
That who to studie þe proheme / has grete lyste to
asay
fful ethe in schort may he / þe boke bere all away

¶The fyrst Chapitle telles / the fall of
Lucyfere. (ll. 1-14)

In the first four lines the translator acknowledges the necessity for divine help. He does not directly request by addressing God.

He says that his 'hert & hand' need it 'if wele shall bene'. In the manuscript 'hert' is glossed 'v.myne intent', that is *intentio*, and 'hand' is glossed 'v.myne werk', which has a correspondence to *modus agendi*. The translator's intention, and the activity contingent upon it, must be conditioned by the will of God. However, it must be stressed that it is still the 'intent' of the translator, who has free will, and responsibility. We see here at work the concept of the double efficient cause, the *duplex causa efficiens*. Moreover, 'hert & hand' is more than an alliterative collocation. It is a stock scholastic distinction. The poet is dividing intention from act conditioned by intention, as if to say 'myne intent' and hence 'myne werk'. A writer's intention has consequences on the status of his literary activity. Similarly, in the epilogue, the audience is expected to read or hear 'hertly' in order that they profit.

The *utilitas*, or *causa finalis*, is 'the profit of cresten folk' and so forth. To achieve this objective, the *modus agendi* of translation is adopted: 'Thenk I a buke translat'. This statement suitably provides the main verb to resolve the seven lines of subordinate embedded clauses preceding it. The *forma* or *modus agendi* of the source is a 'compilacione'. He then gives the *nomen libri* or *titulus*.

The English verse-translator is something of a compiler in his own right. His *proheme* includes a recapitulation of chapters in

true scholastic fashion. His approach here matches the earlier-cited definition of the Catholicon, which held that *capitula* 'breviter capiant et contineant aliquam sententiam'. To have an *ordinatio* of *capitula* gives the reader the whole book in brief in a form which can easily be memorised (see below, pp.308, 310-11).

In the scholastic prologue the term *materia* or *causa materialis* could mean two things, subject-matter and sources. There is a division of *materiae* here into 'maters and estories'. The 'maters' are exposition and the 'estories' correspond to Biblical historical narrative. Moreover both 'maters' and 'estories' are arranged alphabetically in an index which follows the epilogue and lists the chapter in which an 'estorie' or 'mater' is to be found.

VII. THE ORTHODOX WYCLIFFITE PROLOGUE

Overwhelmingly, the Middle English Lives of Christ are by men of orthodoxy. In fact Love's Mirrour was the 'official' Life of Christ because it was licensed and commended by Archbishop Arundel to edify the faithful and confound Lollards and heretics. Doubtless, many writers of the Middle English Lives of Christ would have been horrified at the idea of vernacular Bibles being made to be heard and read by the laity without the presence of a preacher or protective layers of glosses and commentaries. However, the translators of the Wycliffite Bible were very much intellectual products of their time. As translators they energetically applied all their orthodox methodology of exegesis and they drew on standard materials of commentary-tradition. Wycliffe himself was a follower of literal-sense exegesis, after the manner of Nicholas of Lyre and Thomas Aquinas. As he put it, 'vere dicit sanctus Thomas sensum parabolicum... esse literalem'.'[24] Wycliffe followed Jerome's policy of literal sense before mere words: 'nec putemus in verbis scripturarum esse ewangelium, sed in sensu'.'[25] The literal sense was to Wycliffe the 'speculum voluntatis' of God, the divine authorial intention mirrored in Holy Scripture, the 'primum fundamentum noticie cristiane'.'[26]

The primacy of the literal sense in orthodox scriptural exegesis crystallised an age-old problem with which translators had to contend. This was the problem of whether to translate

word-for-word or sense-for-sense. The interlinear gloss, not disturbing word-order, had been a feature of literary culture in England since Anglo-Saxon Psalters. The early version of the Wycliffite Bible took something of a glossatory approach. F.F. Bruce has suggested that this was because the Wycliffites conceived of the Bible as 'Goddis Lawe', 'Lex Dei', intended to replace Canon Law.'[27] The English was intended to provide a gloss of great verbal accuracy. This was why it was more of an homologous gloss than an idiomatic rendering. Nevertheless, it was a bold leap out of Latin into the vernacular. Furthermore, because the Wycliffites appropriated the authority of St. Jerome by translating his prefatory epistles, it was a leap from a position of authority.'[28] The Middle Ages had seen Jerome as an inspired saint and Church Father. The Wycliffites portrayed him as he portrayed himself, that is, as a translator of language and a commentator on the literal sense. Jerome's assessment of the Septuagint became all the more pointed by virtue of being translated into English:

> ...þey writen whanne þei weren gaderid to gideris in to a chirche. hem to haue talkid to gideres & not to haue profecied/ For it is con to be a profete. & an oþire to be a translatoure of langage/ For in profecie þe spirit seiþ bifore. siche þingis þat ben to come/ but in translacioun: enformacioun & plentee of wordis translatiþ siche þingis as he vndirstondiþ.'[29]

The demystifying Wycliffites worked with language according to understanding rather than words alone. Exactly the same material is invoked in the fifteenth chapter of the prologue to the second version of the Wycliffite Bible, written around 1397. This prologue is the most complete statement about late-medieval vernacular translation extant from the period in English.[130] It was written in the best tradition of mainstream scholastic literary theory and commentary-tradition. In translating, the Wycliffites flouted the political authority of the ecclesiastical establishment. However, intellectually, and in their procedures, they were utterly orthodox. They drew on authority and used the best scholastic methodology.

The chapter commences with a simple and irrefutable assertion on the authority of Holy Scripture: 'for as myche as Crist seiþ at þe gospel shal be prechid in al þe world...'[131] Preaching the gospel is a Christian duty, and so is translating it. The *intentio* is divulged:

> ...wiþ comune charite to saue alle men in oure rewme whiche God wole have sauid, a symple creature haþ translatid þe Bible out of Latyn into English.'[132]

This apparently simple statement is packed with scholastic attitudes. Because the writer of the prologue has 'charite' his *intentio* is pure. To have charity is to move in the same

direction as the will of God. Therefore the *intentio* is also humble. The *utilitas* of saving 'alle men' dovetails with the *intentio* because it is the will of God that the gospel be known. The *modus agendi* or *causa formalis* is the act of translation giving a Latin Bible an English form. The *materia* or *causa materialis* is the Bible. The *causa efficiens* is the translator, 'a symple creature' (and divine *auctores*). 'Symple' acknowledges inferiority to God, and 'creature' indicates a suitable debt to the creator, the Author of all things. He proceeds to tell of the four stages by which translation was effected:

> First þis symple creature hadde myche trauaile wiþ diuerse felawis and helperis to gedere manie elde biblis, and oþere doctouris and comune glosis, and to make oo Latyn bible sumdel trewe.[133]

'Elde biblis' are more reliable than recent ones. The authoritative tradition of 'oþere doctouris and comune glosis', established and orthodox glosses, is drawn upon. On the basis of this the Latin Bible is edited to produce the best possible text.

The next stage in translating the Bible is to 'studie it of þe newe, þe text wiþ þe glose, and oþere doctouris as he miȝte gete, and speciali Lire on the elde testament'.[134] Lyre was the greatest exegete of the literal sense. The purpose of the 'glose' is to understand the literal sense.

The third stage is 'to counseille wiþ elde gramariens and elde dyuynis of harde wordis and harde sentencis, hou þo miȝten best be vndurstonden and translatid'.'[34]

After the manner of the Catholicon's definition of translation, the source text is expounded. 'Sentencis' means grammatical sentences and also the *sententia litterae* after the manner of Lyre, that is the expoundable meaning of the literal sense. We see here that literal-sense exegesis and grammar are dealt with together as if interlocking, for grammar, as has been established in Chapter II above, was believed in itself to have semantic function. To expound the same hard words and sentences, both divines and grammarians are consulted.

The final stage is to translate. Suitably, 'þe fourþe tyme to translate as cleerli as he coude to þe sentence, and to haue manie gode felawis and kunnynge at þe correcting of þe translacioun'.'[35] The *sentence* is that of exegesis and grammarians. It is important that the correctors are 'gode' men, for their morality had direct consequences on the integrity of their literary production.

Clearly, the translator is regarded as a commentator elucidating the literal sense:

> First it is to knowe þat þe beste translating is, out of Latyn into English, to translate aftir þe sentence

and not oneli aftir þe wordis, so þat þe sentence be as opin eiþer openere in English as in Latyn, and go not fer fro þe lettre; and if þe lettre mai not be suid in þe translating, let þe sentence euere be hool and open, for þe wordis owen to serue to þe entent and sentence, and ellis þe wordis ben superflu eiþer false.'[37]

As commentators, they make the *sentence* 'openere', but acknowledge that they must keep as close as possible to the words and the literal sense, 'þe lettre'. 'Entent' and 'sentence' are collocated and thereby distinguished. 'Entent' is the whole intention of the author of the original, whereas the *sentence* is the meaning contained in, or proceeding from, the literal sense of the text.

As we have seen, a sentence was conceived of as a syntactic unit in which construction and sense are complete, a complete thought having been expressed. Single-word sentences apart, a word was held not in itself to represent a complete thought. Intentions could only be represented adequately through such larger units.

Indeed, to follow the discernible intention of the human author is is the only secure grounds for translation, 'for Austyn seiþ ...if equiuok wordis be not translatid into þe sense eiþer vndurstonding of þe autour, it is errour'. [38]

'Manie resolucions moun make þe sentence open'.'[39] There is no one way to render the *sentence*: the translator may, and must, choose from valid alternatives. Therefore, as he continues, 'to englisshe it aftir þe word wolde be derk and douteful'.'[40] We have already discussed in Chapter II above the relationship between the contemporary grammatical outlook of the Wycliffite Prologue and literal sense exegesis.

The Wycliffites are compilers. Variants are to be collected and labelled for comparison:

> And where þe Ebru bi witnesse of Ierom, of Lire and oþere expositouris discordiþ fro oure Latyn biblis, I haue set in þe margyn bi maner of a glose what þe Ebru haþ, and hou it is vndurstondun in sum place.'[41]

Jerome is further recommended in the same passage for his 'kunnyng' and also his 'holynesse'. In the scholastic prologue the worthiness of the *vita auctoris* authenticated the usefulness of the text. Likewise, Wycliffe himself had it that 'men þat beþ sett in worldlyche liif and werkis, schulde be ravychid herfro by *word and liif* of Cristis prestis'.'[42] In similar vein, good living contributes to good translating, just as it does to good preaching; for 'bi þis maner wiþ good lyuyng and greet trauel, men moun come to truþe and cleer translating and trewe vndurstonding of holi writ, seme it neuere so hard at þe bigynnyng'.'[43]

The concept of efficient instrumentality through divine grace is present in the statement that translators are helped to full cognition by divine grace. This does not mean that they are mystically inspired. The actual source of grace is not perceived, yet the grace sheds light on what the human mind is attempting to judge.'[44] Hence, 'God of his grete merci ȝeue to vs grace to lyue wel and to seie þe truþe'.'[45] Also the translator 'haþ nede to lyue a clene lif and be ful deuout in preiers and haue not his wit ocupied aboute worldli þingis, þat þe Holi Spiryt, autour of wisdom and kunnyng and truþe, dresse him in his werk and suffre him not for to erre'.'[46]

The other principle of secure translating, apart from having a pure intention helped by God, is that of authority. The ultimate textual authority was to be found in an *auctor's originalia*. In the prologue is an assertion that only rarely has the translation of Jerome been used, 'as it mai be preuid bi þe propre origynals of Ierom'.'[47] This statement is in line with the great move in the later Middle Ages to recover the *originalia*, the unabridged works of *auctores*, the so-called 'codices integri'.'[48]

The newly Englished Bible may be expounded like the Latin Bible. The text is just as authoritatively Biblical because its literal sense is sound, therfore 'men miȝten expoune...myche sharpliere and groundliere þan manie late postillatouris eiþir expositouris han don'.'[49]

The tradition of gospel harmony recognised that more than one writer could give a different but nevertheless profitable exposition of the same material. This was a justification and commonplace for the multiplication of commentaries, as was the text from St. Paul's letter to the Romans that all that is written is written for our doctrine. Augustine's approval of the multiplicity of Latin translations is invoked:

> 'And þis þing helpide more þan lettide vndurstonding, if rederis ben not necligent. Forwhi þe biholding manie bokis haþ shewid ofte, eiþer declarid, sum derkere sentencis.' þis seiþ Austyn þere. þerefore Grosted seiþ þat it was Goddis wille þat diuerse men translatiden, and þat diuerse translacions be in þe chirche, for where oon seide derkli, oon eiþer mo seiden openli.'[30]

God's truth is inexhaustible and always ready to be expounded again. In a generally homogeneous tradition of commentary these expositions should be in harmony with each other. The difference lies mainly in the *modus agendi/forma tractandi*. It is in the nature of such authoritative materials to be treated time and time again, hence the immense number and variety of English reworkings of Biblical materials, including Lives of Christ, which together are a harmony of expositions. Our translators did not seek to make the final work on their subject, or the complete translation. Modern translation theory sometimes dwells on the

impossibility of equivalence. Medieval translators did not concern themselves with this, primarily because their literary activity was predicated on its being an ethical activity in which a pure and humble intention exculpated the translator from any real blameworthiness. There was also an acceptance in the medieval period of the necessary incompleteness of each translation, which could be illuminated by further translations. All material worthy of translation was worthy of re-translation. Hence Trevisa's Lord's remark that

> ...no synfol man doþ so wel þat he ne myȝte do betre, noþer makeþ so good a translacyon þat he ne myȝte make a betre. Þarvore Orygenes made twey translacions and Ierom translatede þryes þe Sauter. Y desire no translacion of þeus bokes, þe beste þat myȝte be, for þat were an ydel desyre vor eny man þat ys now here alyue, bote Ich wolde haue a skylfol translacion þat myȝt be knowe and vnderstonde.'[*]'

In brief, though rebels against the ecclesiastical establishment, the Wycliffites' literary methodology and attitudes were utterly mainstream and respectable. They drew on scholastic literary theory to define and justify the role of the translator. They appropriated not only the Hieronymic and Lyrean traditions but also the role of the commentator on the literal sense. They showed themselves to have all the best literary attitudes, especially with regard to *intentio*, *utilitas*,

efficient instrumental causality and grace, textual scholarship and editing, the following of *auctores* and *auctoritas*, *originalia*, and the complementary nature of alternative expositions on the same authoritative *materiae*. The Middle English Lives of Christ partook of the same sensibility.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

ACADEMIC LITERARY THEORY AND MIDDLE ENGLISH LIVES OF CHRIST

1. Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, pp.10-11.

2. M.B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book' in Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to R.W. Hunt, edited by J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976) 115-41, p.127. This article has an extensive discussion of the genre of *compilatio*.

3. Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, pp.94-95. See also J.A. Burrow, Medieval Writers and Their Work: Middle English Literature and its Background 1100-1500 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982) pp.29-30.

4. Waldron, 'Trevisa's Original Prefaces on Translation', p.293.

5. See in general Parkes '*Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*'; and Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, pp.191-210.

6. Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, pp.73-74.

7. Parkes, '*Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*', pp.127-131.

8. See The Ormulum, edited by R. Holt (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1878):

> Icc hafe sammnedd o þiss boc
> þa Goddspelless neh alle. (Dedication, ll.29-30)

9. Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.76-77.

10. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, edited by F.N. Robinson, second edition (London, Oxford University Press, 1957) p.167, VII, ll.936-52. See also Minnis's discussion of this text, Medieval Theory of Authorship, p.167.

11. See the English translation in The Works of Aurelius Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, volume 7, The Sermon on the Mount, The Harmony of the Evangelists, edited by Marcus Dods, translated by William Findlay and S.D.F. Salmond (Edinburgh, 1878) 133-504.

12. ibid. pp.141-2.

13. ibid. p.144

14. Speculum Devotorum, p.4.

15. Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.62-63; 96-97.

16. English Metrical Homilies from Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century, edited by John Small (Edinburgh, William Paterson, 1862) pp.4-5; Salter, pp.81-84.

17. The Northern Passion, edited by F.A. Foster, EETS OS 145, 147, 183 (London, Oxford University Press, 1913 (for 1912), 1916, 1930) supplementary volume (1930) p.1, ll.7-10.

18. See p.59 of Foster's introduction to the 1916 volume. For texts of the gospel versions, see pp.2-3 of the 1913 volume. For the text of the Old French Passion as the English writer probably used it, see the 1916 volume, pp.102-25. Whether or not the Northern Passion in an early version was conscious of the harmonising of three gospels awaits further investigation.

19. 'Rats Away' in Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose, edited by Kenneth Sisam (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1950) p.170, ll.5-6.

20. Robinson, p.167, VII, ll.953-64.

21. Higden, Polychronicon, vol. 1. p.20. See Minnis's discussion of Vincent of Beauvais, Medieval Theory of Authorship, p. 157.

22. Stanzaic Life, ll.14-16.

23. Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion, edited by J. Meadows Cowper, EETS OS 60 (London, Trübner, 1875), ll.4, 11-22.

24. Hope Emily Allen, 'The Manuel des Pechiez and the Scholastic Prologue', Romanic Review 8 (1917) 434-62.

25. Northern Passion, 1913 volume, p.2, ll.11-16.

26. For this work, see the EETS edition by J. Meadows Cowper, as cited in note 23 above.

27. Speculum Devotorum, p.1.

28. Mirrour, pp.12-13.

29. Catholicon, s.v. capitulum unfol.

30. Mirrour, pp.1-5 for the chapter-headings, and pp.234-6 for the summary meditation of sufferings.

31. Speculum Devotorum, pp.8-9.

32. C. Horstmann, 'Nappula Angliae, von Osbern Bokenham', Englische Studien 10 (1887) 1-34, p.34.

33. Legendys of Hooly Wummen by Osbern Bokenham, edited by Mary S. Serjeantson, EETS OS 206 (London, Oxford University Press, 1938) ll.6356-7.

34. ibid., ll.3126-8.

35. Robinson, p.546.

36. K. Horstmann, 'Orologium Sapientiae or The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom aus MS Douce 114', Anglia 100 (1888) 323-89.

37. ibid., p.325

38. ibid., p.325

39. For discussion of the *modus excerptoris*, see Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, p.192.

40. See Parkes, 'Punctuation, or Pause and Effect', p.131. The Latin text is cited from E. Jeauneau, 'Deux rédactions des gloses

de Guillaume de conches sur Priscien', Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 27 (1960) 212-47, p.225.

41. See Parkes, 'Punctuation, or Pause and Effect', p.131. For the Latin Latin text, see PL 176, 759-838, col.771-2.

42. ibid., p.132. See also for a general discussion of this Beryl Smalley, The History of the Bible in the Middle Ages, third edition (Oxford, 1982).

43. Speculum Devotorum, p.9.

44. Seven Poyntes, p.325.

45. The Myrroure of oure Ladye, edited by John Henry Blunt, EETS ES 19 (London, Trübner, 1873), p.7.

46. ibid., p.7.

47. ibid., p.8.

48. Legendys of Hooly Wummen, ed. Serjeantson, ll.4712-16.

49. ibid., ll.16-18.

50. Virgil's Aeneid Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, edited by David F.C. Coldwell, 4 vols., STS 3rd Series 25, 27, 28, 30 (Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood and Sons, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1964), prologue to Bk I, vol. 2, ll.391-402.

51. English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole edited by Hope Emily Allen (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1931) p.7

52. ibid., pp.125-6, where Allen points out that Rolle did not, it would appear, borrow outside Peter Lombard, and probably formulated some of his own expositions. Geraldine Hodgson finds possible use of St Augustine's Enarrationes: see The Sanity of Mysticism: A Study of Richard Rolle (London, Faith Press, 1926; repr. Folcroft, Pennsylvania, Folcroft Library Editions, 1977) pp.151-88. Hodgson's alleged discovery is cited in John A. Alford, 'Richard Rolle and Related Works', in Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres, edited by

A.S.G. Edwards (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1984) 35-60, p.42.

53. English Writings of Richard Rolle, ed. Allen, p.7.

54. ibid., pp.8-9.

55. See Appendix II of this thesis, 'Walton's Sapient Orpheus'; also Mark J. Gleason, 'Clearing the Fields: Towards a Reassessment of Chaucer's Use of Trevet in the Boece', in The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translations of De Consolatione Philosophiae, edited by A.J. Minnis (Woodbridge and Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, Boydell and Brewer, 1987) 89-105, and in the same volume, A.J. Minnis, '"Glosynge is a glorious thyng": Chaucer at Work on the Boece', 106-24. See also generally Machan, Techniques of Translation, for Chaucer's use of Trevet, and Copeland, 'Rhetoric and Vernacular Translation'.

56. Douglas, Aeneid, vol. 2, prologue to Book I, ll.347-50.

57. ibid., prologue to Book I, gloss on l.350, p.12. See also Coldwell's note, introduction, vol. 1, p.148.

58. ibid., gloss on l.367, p.13.

59. ibid., ll.351-8

60. ibid., ll.299,289-91.

61. ibid., ll.138-272, and prologue to Book V, ll.51-54.

62. See Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, pp. 118-40, for a discussion of the variety of forms found in the Bible by medieval commentators.

63. ibid., p.74.

64. ibid., p.35.

65. ibid., pp.57-58.

66. ibid., p.22.

67. Speculum Devotorum, p.10.

68. Ormulum, Dedication, l.34.

69. ibid., ll.55-58.

70. Mirrour, p.8.

71. See the discussion below (pp.104-37) on the terminology of the scholastic prologue. 'Materia' corresponds to subject matter and/or source materials.

72. Copeland, 'Rhetoric and Vernacular Translation', pp.56, 67-75.

73. English Writings of Richard Rolle, ed. Allen, p.7.

74. Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, p.103.

75. Mirrour, p.8.

76. R.H. and M.A. Rouse, Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland, Texts and Studies 47 (Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979) p.61.

77. Humbert of Romans, 'Treatise on Preaching', in Readings in Medieval Rhetoric, edited by Joseph S. Miller, Michael H. Prosser and Thomas W. Benson (Bloomington, Indiana and London, Indiana University Press, 1973) 245-50, p.250.

78. James J. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, University of California Press, 1974) p.270.

79. Speculum Devotorum, p.166.

80. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, p.307.

81. Ibid., p.275.

82. This is taken from a sermon on Genesis I.16-20, Michael Richter, 'A Sociolinguistic Approach to the Middle Ages', Studies in Church History 11 (1975) 69-82, p.69.

83. Murphy, Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, p.344. See also Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, pp.161-2.

84. Section on Pseudo-Thomas Aquinas, 'De Arte Praedicandi', in Miller, Prosser and Benson, Readings in Medieval Rhetoric, p.252.

85. Robinson, pp. 148-55.

86. John Wycliffe, De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae, edited by Rudolf Buddensieg (London, Trübner, 1905-7) 3 vols, vol. 2, p.156.

87. Ibid. vol. 1, p.287

88. Speculum Devotorum, pp.1-10.

89. Humbert of Romans, 'Treatise on Preaching', in Readings in Medieval Rhetoric, ed. Miller, Prosser and Benson, pp.247-8.

90. Alan of Lille, 'Compendium on the Art of Preaching', ibid., pp.237-8.

91. William Langland, The Vision of Piers Plowman: A Critical Edition of the B-Text, edited by A.V.C. Schmidt (London, Dent, 1978) Passus X, ll.456-9.

92. Alan of Lille, 'Compendium on the Art of Preaching', Readings in Medieval Rhetoric, ed. Miller, Prosser and Benson, p.232.

93. Waldron, 'Trevisa's Original Prefaces', p.292.

94. ibid., pp. 292-3.

95. ibid., p.297.

96. See the important article by Stephen Morrison, 'Sources for the Ormulum', Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 84 (1983) 419-36. For the Enarrationes in Matthei Evangelium, see PL 162, 1227-1500. See also Morrison's 'Orm's English Sources', Archiv 221 (1984) 54-64; and 'New Sources for the Ormulum', Neophilologus 68 (1984) 444-50.

97. English Metrical Homilies, ed. Small, pp.5-6.

98. See generally Morrison, 'Sources for the Ormulum'.

99. ibid., p.431.

100. For a detailed discussion on the scholastic literary prologue, on which this short survey is based, see Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, pp.9-39; and R.W. Hunt, 'The Introductions to the 'Artes' in the Twelfth Century', in The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages, pp.117-44; Accessus ad auctores: Bernard D'Utrecht, Conrad D'Hirsau, Dialogus Super Auctores, edited by R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1970).

101. John Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham. And a Sermon, edited by J.J. Munro EETS OS 140 (London, Trübner, 1910), Prologue to the Life of St. Augustine, pp.1-2; Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, p.10.

102. For discussion of the medieval concern for the moral lives of authors, see Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, pp.112-13.

103. See Huygens, Accessus ad Auctores, p.26. The English translation is from Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, ed. Minnis, Scott and Wallace. p.17.

104. Arnulf of Orleans, 'Gloss on Lucan's Pharsalia: Prologue', ibid., pp.155-8.

105. Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, p.79.

106. ibid., p.76-84.

107. ibid., p.83

108. See Monique Paulmier, 'Etude sur l'état des connaissances au milieu du XIII^e siècle: Nouvelles recherches sur la genèse du Speculum maius de Vincent de Beauvais', Spicae: Cahiers de l'Atelier de Vincent de Beauvais 1 (1978) 91-121. See also generally Serge Lusignan, Préface au Speculum Maius de Vincent de Beauvais: Réfraction et Diffraction, Cahiers D'études Médiévales 5 (Montreal, Bellarmin and Paris, J. Vrin, 1979).

109. English Writings of Richard Rolle, ed. Allen, p.7.

110. ibid., pp.4-6.

111. ibid., pp.6-7.

112. Seven Poyntes, prologue, pp.324-6; this quotation, p.325.

113. ibid., p.326.

114. Myrroure of oure Ladye, ed. Blunt, p.3.

115. Ibid., p.8.

116. Ibid., pp.2-3.

117. Ibid., p.3.

118. Ibid., pp.3-4.

119. Ibid., pp.4-5.

120. Ibid., p.4; Speculum Devotorum, pp.8-9.

121. Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, p.164.

122. Ibid., p.165, where it seems to be maintained that any immodesty on Bokenham's part is inimical to the theoretical integrity of the work.

123. ibid., p.165, where it is stated that, with Bokenham, the life seems to gone out of the theoretical idiom.

124. John Wycliffe, De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae, vol. 1, pp.122-3.

125. ibid., vol. 2, p.19.

126. ibid., vol. 1, pp.377, 399.

127. F.F. Bruce, The History of the Bible in English (London, 1979) pp.12-13.

128. The Middle English Prefatory Epistles of Jerome, edited by Conrad Lindberg (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1978).

129. ibid., the later version, pp.161,3.

130. 'Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible, Chapter 15', ed. Hudson, pp.67-72.

131. ibid., p.67. The Gospel reference is Matthew XXIV.14.

132. ibid., p.67.

133. ibid., p.67.

134. ibid., p.67.

135. ibid., pp.67-68.

136. ibid., p.68.

137. ibid., p.68.

138. ibid., p.71.

139. ibid., p.68.

140. ibid., p.68.

141. ibid., p.69.

142. John Wycliffe, 'De Pontificum Romanorum Schismate', in Select English Works of John Wyclif, edited by Thomas Arnold, 3 vols (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1869-71) vol. 3, p.258.

143. 'Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible, Chapter 15', ed. Hudson, p.72.

144. F.C. Copleston, A History of Medieval Philosophy pp.36-37, for a short summary of the Augustinian attitudes towards illumination.

145. 'Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible, Chapter 15', ed. Hudson, p.69.

146. ibid., p.71.

147. ibid., p.69; also J. De Ghellinck, '"Originale" et "Originalia"', Bulletin du Cange 14 (1939) 95-105.

148. M.B. Parkes, '*Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*', pp.123-4.

149. 'Prologue to the Vycliffite Bible, Chapter 15', ed. Hudson, p.69.

150. ibid., p.71.

151. Waldron, 'Trevisa's Original Prefaces', p.293.

CHAPTER FOUR

NICHOLAS LOVE'S MIREOUR OF THE BLESSED LYF OF JESU CRIST: PROLOGUE AND PRACTICE

I. THE MEDITATIONES VITAE CHRISTI AND THE MIREOUR

From the historical sense of the life of Christ could be generated didactic moralizing Lives, like the Stanzaic Life, and also versions including meditation on the events of the Gospels, like the Speculum Devotorum and its great predecessor the Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, written before 1410 by the Carthusian Prior of Mount Grace, Nicholas Love. [1] Extant in some 49 known manuscripts, together with two fragments and two composite texts, it was one of the most successful English books of the fifteenth century. It passed through eight reprints between 1486 and 1525. [2]

There is no dissent among modern scholars as to the popularity and prestige of Love's Mirrour. In a publication of 1981 Elizabeth Salter could safely claim:

> Margaret Deanesley's statement, made in 1920, 'Love's Myrrour...had an interesting history and was probably more popular than any other single book in the fifteenth century'...has been substantially

reaffirmed and extended by more recent research upon the Myrrour and related treatises. [3]

More recently, Michael Sargent has reaffirmed Deanesley's view. [4] The Mirrour is also rightly seen as not only prime evidence for a broadening audience for vernacular devotional prose in the later-medieval period but also a factor in developing it. [5]

As well as enjoying an enduring popularity Love's Mirrour had considerable prestige and authority. In many copies is included a *memorandum* which records that around 1410 the Mirrour was licensed by Archbishop Arundel and commended and mandated for the edification of the faithful and the confutation of all false Lollards and heretics. [6] Thus it can be said that the Mirrour was the 'official' Middle English Life of Christ, especially given Church policy of frowning on the circulation of vernacular Bibles amongst the laity. As late as 1532 Thomas More, in opposing the the Bible translator William Tyndale, recommended, alongside Hilton's Scale of Perfection and the Middle English rendering of the Imitation of Christ, Love's Mirrour as proper and profitable reading-matter for pious Christians. He advised 'redynge of suche englysshe bookes as moste may norysshe and encrease deuocyon. Of whyche kynde is Bonauenture of the lyfe of Cryste, Gerson of the folowynge of Cryste, and the deuoute contemplatyue booke of Scala perfectionis wyth suche other lyke'. [7]

The Mirrour is a translation of the Pseudo-Bonaventurean Meditationes Vitae Christi, an imaginative series of meditations following the order of Christ's life. [9] It enjoyed immense success and influence throughout Europe. [9] The editor of the medieval Irish version of this work eloquently acknowledges its massive importance:

The Meditationes has been variously referred to as a Life of Christ, a biography of the Blessed Virgin, the fifth gospel, the last of the apocrypha, one of the masterpieces of Franciscan literature, a summary of medieval spirituality, a religious handbook of contemplation, a manual of Christian iconography, one of the chief sources of the mystery plays. [10]

More recently, Michael Sargent has stated that it 'was probably the most influential as well as the most popular of early Franciscan devotional writings. Indeed one might say that the Meditationes had an importance in late medieval spirituality comparable to that of the Imitation of Christ in the devotio moderna'. [11] It was so important that it was translated into many vernaculars including French, Italian, Swedish, Spanish, Dutch/Alemannish, Bavarian, Catalan, Bulgarian, Irish and English. [12]

There are many manuscripts of the work in England containing the Latin original. [13] Also, an indication of the authority and

spiritual puissance accorded to the work in the late-medieval period is to be gained from the fact that an indulgence of forty days was granted between 1452 and 1457 by the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle and the Suffragan Bishop of York (who was also Bishop of Philippopolis) to any person devoutly reading a single chapter of the work. [14]

Apart from the success and prestige of the Latin original and Love's version, the importance of the Meditationes Vitae Christi in medieval English culture can be gauged through the fact that there are several extant versions of the Passion-section and three Lives of the Virgin and Christ, all Englished in the fourteenth century. [15]

The Meditationes Vitae Christi consists of a series of meditations following the events from the debate of the council in heaven concerning Man's restoration right through to the sending of the Holy Ghost to the Disciples. Though it is a work containing much meditative material there is also a considerable homiletic element. As regards its first intended audience, it was written for a Poor Clare for her spiritual, moral and contemplative benefit. The tone of the work is appropriately intimate. The 'dilecta filia' is drawn closer to Biblical events as if she were present or even a participant, and this is done in order to gain more efficaciously the multiple benefits of affective experience leading in part to contemplation and moral *fruyte* from the most exemplary of exemplary lives.

The Meditationes Vitae Christi is a work not only imaginative and dramatic but also instructive and authoritative. Its sources are the Bible, the Apocrypha, patristic texts, and earlier works of revelation and meditation. More indirectly, but just as important, with regard to general influences and milieu, 'it seems', according to Salter, '...to gather up the varied elements of Franciscan piety, and express them as a whole. Behind it lies the mystical theology of St. Bernard and St Bonaventure, no less than the simple but profound faith of St. Francis of Assisi. But in its marked stress on the emotional aspect of the Life of Christ as against theological issues, it allies itself with that part of Franciscan activity which aimed at popularising the great devotional themes set by the foregoing centuries'.'[6]

Love's Mirrour reflects circumstances of composition and intended audience different from those of the Meditationes Vitae Christi, and this can be seen most explicitly in his prologue, or 'proheme' as he calls it. '[7] As a Carthusian he was obliged to make devotional books. The devotional book which Love chose to make in the vernacular had as its purpose the stirring of devout souls, lay and religious, men and women, to the love of God and to good living, as well as providing this widened audience with orthodox teaching on the life of Christ. Love carefully supervises the meditating imaginations of his readers and hearers and explains Biblical events to them in clear English authoritatively, intimately and affectively. This work had exactly the right sort of appeal to suit Arundel's intention of

distracting the people from the Wycliffite Gospels. The Mirrour's primarily meditative nature, and its extrapolation and development of the Gospel stories, can be seen as being something of a diversion from the perilous language of the Holy Text itself.

However, it would be wrong to emphasise too much the narrowly political intentions and uses of the Mirrour. Although it indubitably includes significant amounts of anti-Lollard polemic and an appropriate treatise on the Blessed Sacrament, Nicholas Love, beyond all question, first and foremost, deliberately produced a work with a non-sectarian, affective, instructive doctrinal intention and utility for clerks and laity alike, with the stress on the relatively unlearned. [19] Such intentions are reflected in the exclusion of the more difficult theology and advanced contemplative materials of the original, or passages that addressed themselves more to the circumstances of the enclosed religious. [20]

II. THE THEORETICAL DIMENSION

In his 'proheme' Love discusses his role as a translator and also renders Pseudo-Bonaventure's own 'prohemium' into English.[21] The English *proheme* reveals a considerable and informing presence of orthodox academic literary theory issuing directly from the

pen of Love in those passages *not* translated from the Pseudo-Bonaventurean *prohemium*. An interesting test of Love as a translator is to examine his Englishing of precisely that part of the Meditationes Vitae Christi which is most explicit about the nature of the work.

Love does not order his *probeme* under paradigm headings, showing the curt ticklist systematism of, say, the *accessus* to Physiologus (see above, p.107). Rather the theory is incorporated into the flow of his argument in a natural, idiomatic way, serving to influence and describe the priorities and character of the Mirrour. Love's purpose was not that of serving literary theory, but he is careful to show his correctness in presenting his work in terms of standard categories. The theory bolsters and valorises the central concerns of the project, which are to provide simple English souls with a meditative Life of Christ in their own tongue, to declare the Life of Christ to be the supreme literary genre outside the Bible, and to describe the moral and spiritual benefits to be gained from it. Love's theoretical command is comprehensive and informs his discussion of his sources, his views of his own literary activity and intentions, and also what he actually does.

The source is assessed in academic fashion. It was written by a man morally good, 'the devout man and worthy clerk/ Bonauenture' (p.8). This reflects the concern for the moral life

of the author (*vita auctoris*) found in the scholastic prologue tradition. An *auctor*'s moral status could be held to affect the authority of his work. Later in the Mirrour Love actually recommends the work of Walter Hilton as that of a 'holy lyuere' (p.165).

The *materia* ('matere') of the Meditationes Vitae Christi is the life of Christ: 'the matere of this book/ that is the blessid lyf of Jesu crist' (p.12). This 'matere', with its 'pleyne sentence' (p.8), is 'fructuouse'. Its *utilitas* is the profit to be gained in stirring to the love of Jesus and the edification of simple souls.

> The whiche scripture and writynge/ for the fructuouse mater ther of sterynge specially to the loue of Jesu/ and also for the pleyne sentence to comune vnderstondynge/ semeth among othere souereynly edifienge to symple creatures. (p.8)

The reference to 'fructuouse mater' considers not only *materia* but also *utilitas*, as does the phrase, 'prophitable mater of this book' (p.10). Love inter-relates and collocates paradigm categories *ad hoc* as it suits his discussion. 'Matere' is not considered as separate from 'fruyte' or 'manere' . Likewise 'manere' is presented along with 'entent', for the work is

> ...writen in this manere and to this entent/ that is to seie as deuoute ymaginaciouns and liknesses stirynge symple soules to the loue of god and desire of heuenly thinges. (p.9)

The 'manere' is that of devout meditations. Love further defines it as 'more pleyn in certeyn parties than is expressed in the gospel of the foure euangelistes' (p.8). The 'entent' is that of stirring simple souls to the love of God and desire for heavenly things.

There is a similar theoretical underpinning in Love's discussion of his own activity. A conception of bilocated authorship informs his request to the reader to pray not only for himself, 'the drawere out' (p.13), but also his 'auctour' (though he could be referring to himself generally as 'auctour' here).

In the traditional scholastic prologue, *titulus* and *nomen libri* were the headings under which were considered the reasons for a book's name. In this *proheme* Love provides a lengthy justification and exposition of the new title he has created for his work. Copies of the Mirrour contain 'Women libri' (p.10) in the margin at this point.

Love sees his 'matere' (*materia*) not only in terms of a source, the Meditationes Vitae Christi, assumed to be written by St. Bonaventure, but also in terms of the nature of its content,

i.e. 'the wordes and the dedes of that man in whom goddes sone ȝaf hym self to vs in to ensample of good lyuynge' (p.8). Echoing the phrasing of the title of his original, Love identifies the 'mater' as 'deuout meditaciouns of cristes lyf' (p.8). The meditative form chosen by the *auctor* is part of the translator's 'matere'.

Love's 'entent' is the same as that discerned in the original, and he avoids blame by offloading some of the moral responsibility for the enterprise on the devout souls who requested him to write this work.

> Wherfore/ at the instaunce and the prayer of somme deuoute soules/ to edificacioun of suche men or wommen is this drawynge out of the forseide book of cristes lyf wryten in englisch/ wyth more putte to in certeyn parties and also with drawynge of dyuerse auctoritees and materes as it semeth to the writere here of most spedeful and edifienge to hem that ben of symple vnderstondynge. (p.8)

His 'manere', though, is more independently his own business, being that of the translator in his 'drawynge oute...in englisch', and that of the compiler purposefully adding 'more...in certeyn parties and also with drawynge (i.e. removal) of dyuerse auctoritees and materes'. Though he has not changed the *sentence* of his original he has an independent preacher-

compiler's *modus agendi*, 'as it semeth to the writere here of most spedeful and edifienge'. The 'Attende lector' notice in many copies of the Mirrour refers to Love as the 'translator or compiler in English', 'translatoris siue compilatoris in anglico' (p.6). The book was seen as both translation and compilation, a restructuring in English faithful to the *sentence* of the original. Indeed *compilatio* contributes to the very construction of this *proheme* because Love excerpts and re-orders the materials of the original and cuts out references relating to Saint Francis and to studies of spiritual exercises (Peltier, pp.510-11), which would be of more specific interest to the enclosed religious than to Love's 'symple soules'. The *sentence* of the original is not undermined by these cuts. Also, in true compiling fashion, he acknowledges his *auctores*: for example,

> ¶Hereto accordynge speketh seint Austyn thus...(p.7)

> For/ as seint gregory seith/...(p.9)

Picking up on an idea to be found in the 100th chapter of the original (Peltier, p.629) he explains his *ordinatio* after the days of the week:

> And for also moche as this book is deuyded and departed in vij parties after vij daies of the weke: euery day one party or somme therof to ben had in

> contemplacioun of hem that han therto desire and deuocioun. (p.12)

The reader could cover the whole book in a single week, but if he/she only read a chapter ('somme ther of'), as was more likely with a simple lay soul who could not spare the time or maintain the attention, he/she would not cover the whole sequence of the *Vita Christi* but could still gain a sense of its *kindeli ordre* recycled every week; for instance, the early days of the week would deal with earlier events of Christ's life and each Friday would cover some element of the Passion. Note the typical compiler's attitude of stressing reader-choice as regards how and how much to read. Similarly typical is the presentation of more than one level of *ordinatio*, for the Mirrour can also be used according to the Church year.

> Also not oneliche the mater of this book is pertynent and profitable to be had in contemplacioun the forseide dayes to hem that wollen and mowen/ bot also as it longeth to the tymes of the ȝere: as in aduent/ to rede and deuoutly haue in mynde fro the bygynnynge in to the natiuite of oure lord Jesu: and thereafter in that holy feste of cristemasse: and so forth of othere matires/ as holy chirche maketh mynde of hem in tyme of ȝere. (pp.12-13)

These two levels of *ordinatio* could be combined, or the reader could switch from one to the other. In what constitutes an epilogue at the end of the work, Love takes the principle of reader-choice yet further, by acknowledging not only a need to maintain in the reader a feeling of novelty but also recognising that following the days of the week as recommended by the *auctor* might prove wearisome by continuance. He invites his readers not only to use the book according to the times of the church year, if they want to, but even to ignore *ordinatio* altogether in favour of picking and choosing *ad hoc* both the location of passages and their length, depending on what seems most comforting, or provides proper consolation, or stirs them to devotion. Thus the principle of *lectoris arbitrium* is taken to its logical extreme:

> ...therfore hit semeth not conuenient to folowe the processe therof by the dayes of the wike/ after the entent of the forsaide Bonauenture: for it were to tediouse/ as me thinketh/ and also it schulde so sone be fulsome and not in comfortable deyntethe by cause of the freelte of mankynde/ that hath lykynge to here and knowe newe thinges/ and tho that bene seldene herde ben ofte in the more deyntethe. Wherfore it semeth to me beest that every deuoute creatour that loueth to rede or to here this book take the partes therof as it semeth moste coumfortable and stirynge to his deuocioun✓ sumtyme oon and sumtyme another/

> and specially in the tymes of the ȝere and the festes ordeyned in holy chirche/ as the materes ben pertynent to hem. (p.300)

Though this attitude seems permissive, Love nevertheless takes care at the end of the *probeme* to announce formally all the levels of *ordinatio*, i.e. the beginning of the first chapter, part and day.

> And thus endeth the probema: and after foloweth the contemplacioun for Moneday in the firste party and the firste chapitle. (p.13)

He is specific about the hierarchy and distinctness of levels of *ordinatio*, in that 'parties' constitute a level above 'chapitres'.

> ¶The firste partie hath fiue chapitres touchinge the contemplacioun for Moneday and for the tyme of Aduent/ as it foloweth after. (p.13)

This same distinction of levels is reflected in the table of numbered chapter headings and daily parts in many copies of the Mirrour (pp.1-5), all of which can be keyed into the text. This makes the book more effective for reference and meditation alike, in line with The Mirroure of Mans Saluacionne's point that whoever studies these headings 'fful ethe in schort my he / þe boke bere

all away' (l.13) (see above, p.124). The mnemonic, aesthetic and meditative function of such tables should not be undervalued, for devotional works were meant to be inwardly digested, held in the mind for contemplation after reading or hearing had ended. They were also books, not to be read and heard once and then left, but to be re-used, in some cases habitually. Thus the table is not just a key to the book but a mnemonic for the reader's own meditative experience of the work and of the life of Christ, gained from past reading and set and borne, as with Cecile, 'euere in the priuete of her brest' (p.10).

The prologue is annotated marginally in true compiling fashion. Some of these notes label *auctores* and their works; for example, '¶Augustinus de agone christiano' (p.7); some emphasise certain important points; for example, '¶Nota bene' (p.9) and '¶De sano intellecto huius libri.' (p.9); some distinguish Love's own words from the Meditationes Vitae Christi. In many copies of the Mirrour is a Latin notice to the reader. Love's contributions are marked in the margin by an '.N.' and those of his source by a '.B.':

> Attende lector huius libri prout sequitur in anglico scripti quod vbicunque in margine ponitur litera .N: verba sunt translatoris siue compilatoris in anglico praeter illa que inseruntur in libro scripto/ secundum communem opinionem/ a venerabili doctore Bonauentura in latino de meditacione vite

> christi. Et quum peruenitur ad processum et verba eiusdem doctoris inseritur in margine litera .B. prout legenti siue intuenti istum librum speculi vite/ christi lucide poterit apparere. (p.6)

Such a notice was addressed not only to the literate reader but also to whomsoever might be reading the book out to hearers, who could be told which were the words of the *auctor* and which the translator.

The presence of orthodox literary theory in the *proheme*, then, is a substantial fact, whether it concerns discussion of sources or the translator's own literary activity.

III. MEDITATION IN ENGLISH FOR ALL: A LIFE OF CHRIST FOR *SYMPLE SOULES*

The *proheme* does not commence with any translating of the source. Instead it has a considerable prefacing passage advertising the supreme value of the words and works of Jesus as written in various books and especially in the Meditationes Vitae Christi, originally written in Latin for an enclosed woman but nevertheless sovereignly edifying for 'symple soules', and capable of stirring them to hope of the afterlife (pp.7-9). Incorporating amongst his own words some transposed material from

the original, Love stresses the imaginative nature of the original: not all of its materials are authentically Biblical and are hence only to be believed for the purposes of devout meditation (p.9). Having declared his reasons his new English title for the work, Love launches into a rendering of the Latin *prohemium* (p.10), which starts with the example of the St Cecilia who meditated continually on the life of Christ to her great spiritual benefit. Three prime uses of the Life of Christ are named: firstly, strength against the world's vanities as exemplified in Cecilia's spurning of the pomp of her wedding (pp.10-11); secondly, strength against adversity as exemplified in the joy of tormented martyrs (p.11); and finally, protection from vices together with a concomitant gaining of virtues (p.12). It is then indicated that the work will concern God and His angels in Heaven (i.e. the council in heaven for the restoring of Man. (p.12)). Next, Love incorporates the substance of a passage in Chapter 100 of the source recommending a division of the book by the days of the week and the Church year (pp.12-13). Finally, following a petition, he announces the end of the 'proheme' and introduces the meditation for Monday and Advent (p.13).

(1) All is Written for Hope for All

The *proheme* of the Mirrour opens with the famous and oft-exploited dictum of St. Paul in Romans that all that is written

is written for our doctrine in order that we have hope. Love's exposition of Romans is shaped by his desire to provide for a widened audience a Life of Christ offering hope to all. In the *sentence* of the Meditationes Vitae Christi, and in the superabundant *sentence* of the Scriptures, from which such works, especially Lives of Christ, spring, there is the potential and the authority for this new English version for 'symple soules'. The *proheme* opens with the resonant sententiousness of Latin Scripture:

> Quecumque scripta sunt/ ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt: vt per pacienciam/ et consolacionem scripturarum/ spem habeamus. Ad Romanos xv° cap°.iv. These ben the wordes of the grete doctour and holy apostil Paul. (p.7)

Citing chapter and verse with propriety, Love attributes the Latin to Paul, an *auctor* who was both doctor and Apostle. When he starts to expound the Latin in his own words there is marginal annotation distinguishing with an '¶N' his own contribution from that of the *auctor*. He then proceeds to expound the *sentence* as it suits his *entent* for his chosen audience. Having benefitted rhetorically from opening with a Latin Scriptural text Love goes on to expound it in English with one single, enormously long sentence, which consists of a build-up of unresolved clauses which are only dialectically and syntactically completed by a

vernacular repetition of St. Paul's words 'in-eched' with matter recommending *Vitae Christi*.

> Considerynge that the goostly lyuynge of alle trewe cristen creatures in this world stant specialy in hope of the blisse and the lyf that is to come in another world/ and for also moche as tweyne thinges principally norissben and strengthen this hope in man/ that is pacience in herte and ensaumple of vertues and good lyuyng of holy men writen in bookes/ and souereynly the wordes and the dedes written of oure lord Jesu crist/ veray god and man/ for the tyme of his bodily lyuynge here in erthe/ therfore to strengthe vs and comforte vs in this hope spekith the apostil the wordes aforseide to this entent/ seinge/ that alle thinges that ben writen generally in holy chirche and specially of oure lord Jesu crist/ they ben writen to oure lore/ that by pacience and comforte of holy scriptures we haue hope/ that is to saye of the lyf and blisse that is to come in an other world. (p.7)

Sheer length of sentence is not often a significant critical category, but here the series of expository points create a cumulative effect climaxing in a *conclusio* echoing and appropriating the Vulgate text, and finally returning to the same *textuel* starting point. The first part of this sentence, up to

the word 'entent', consists of a sequence of commonplaces which interweave with and interpret Paul's words. Love's approach in this passage is quite adroit: he does not closely expound the original word-for-word or sense-for-sense so much as develop an argument with points in the vernacular in harmony with the Latin text, echoing key words (which I have underlined) such as 'hope' ('spem'), 'pacience' ('patientiam'), 'written' ('scripta') and 'confort' ('consolacionem'). All these points, each of which leads logically to the next, would be self-justifying without recourse to an *auctoritas* like Romans, but the Biblical text encapsulates and valorises them all. Firstly, the spiritual life of all true Christians is rooted in the hope of the life to come: this hope is strengthened by two things, patience and the virtuous examples of men written in books, and, in particular, Christ; this inevitably strengthens and comforts us in hope, in which spiritual life is rooted; thus St. Paul said what he did. Though the first part of the sentence is at a somewhat periphrastic distance from Romans it still draws authority from the Apostle. The second part translates Paul's words more closely but glosses them with key points (as underlined) made in the first part of the sentence:

...to this entent✓ seinge/ that alle thinges that ben writen generally in holy chirche and specially of oure lord Jesu crist/ they ben writen to oure lore✓ that by pacience and comforte of holy scriptures we

haue hope/ that is to saye of the lyf and blisse that is to come in an other world.

Thus as a faithful translator Love is seen to preserve in the vernacular the literal sense and also the *ipsissima verba* of Paul, but he ensures that the exposition of them very much suits his purposes.

These *in-echings* shape a twofold *sentence*: the supreme puissance of the genre of the Life of Christ, and the utility it has in providing hope for the afterlife. They also recall the glossatory habits of commentators and other translators like Orm who acknowledged the benefits of the technique of expansive insertion of many words among the words of the gospel in order properly to expound its inmanent lore.[21] Like Orm, Love inserts his own choice of words amongst Scriptural words. The *sententia* of the Bible and its derivative genres like Lives of Christ had inexhaustible reserves of *sententia* and varying *utilitates*. In expounding, the translator inevitably chooses his own 'dyuers' exposition. As Love himself says, 'holy writt may be expowned and vndirstonden in dyuers maneres and to dyuerse purposes/ so that it be not a.enst the bileue or gode maneres' (p.9). The *sententia* is the potential for exposition in the text, and such superabundant potential forces choice (such choice being co-determined by audience-need). Diversity and choice are authorised by the Pauline truism that all that is written is written for the purpose of stirring to the hope of the afterlife.

a truth which harmonises all 'dyuers' interpretations. Unlike other writers, though, Love does not use Romans merely as a warrant for his own literary freedom, because he stresses the role of the hope of the life to come, and this is linked to his choice of literary form and matter, the genre of the Life of Christ. This link, which is important, is motivated by his decision to translate for simple souls, the English laity, rather than the enclosed religious, with whom Pseudo-Bonaventure was primarily concerned. Love recognised in the Meditationes Vitae Christi the potential for a 'dyuers' exposition for a less specialised audience. The Mirrour prefers the 'mylke of lyȝte doctrine/ and not...sadde mete of grete clergie and of hiȝe contemplacioun' (p.8). The English audience were no Poor Clares: their *affectus* could not attain the mystical heights of the enclosed religious; but as Christians these 'symple soules' had the capacity to be stirred Godwards in *hope*, which, though in itself it is not necessarily an imaginative form of experience, is nevertheless an affective Christian emotion and virtue with God and the afterlife its desired end. Such movement towards God also satisfies the demands of *caritas*. Hope, then, is the lowest common denominator of the *utilitas* or 'fruyte'/'prophit' of this work, and reflects Love's *entent* in choosing this particular *expositio sententie* for the passage from Romans rather than using the Apostle as a license for literary freedom.[22]

That Love writes of the 'thinges that ben writen generally in holy chirche and specially of oure lord Jesu crist' is a reminder

of the ecclesiastical authority invested in the genre. The Mirrour in particular was a product of Holy Church, intended to edify the faithful and confound all false Lollards and heretics, as the *memorandum* of the licensing by Arundel attests. As an obedient instrument of Holy Church, Love was a literary preacher-translator expounding his texts in the vernacular as part of his *officium praedicatoris* for the benefit of his chosen flock of simple souls and the more educated. His role as a translator is validated by his being a priest and preacher under the aegis of Holy Church. His role as a preacher, or at least (as an enclosed Carthusian) a writer of preaching on the Bible, encourages him to translate. (We have already noted the link between preaching and translation (see above, pp.87-103).Love's exposition of Romans, and indeed the whole of the Mirrour (in general) integrate preaching and translation.

(11) The 'Medecyne of Man': From 'Mete' to 'Mylke'

As yet, however, Love has not formally declared that he is translating an authoritative work, let alone identified it as the Meditationes Vitae Christi. Moving on from the universal theme of hope and towards the subject matter of his chosen source, he emphasises the great power of Christ's life. He considers its conceivability and inconceivability to the human mind, which enables him at the same time to approach the subject of

meditating on the *vita*, albeit that the emphasis is on humbler benefits, namely the teaching of good morality and the provision of hope for simple souls by Christ's moral example. He starts this passage as he did the section based on Romans, with an *auctoritas*, this time culled from St. Augustine, who in the De Agone Christiano, a short exposition of Christian doctrine and morals with simple souls in mind, declared that Christ is a mighty 'medecyne of man' in the Incarnation and the Redemption through His Passion. [23] Although the nature and scale of healing are too great to be thought, nevertheless the imagining of the Incarnation and the words and deeds of Christ provides example to all Christian souls of how to handle sin in this earthly life. Hence a parallel is drawn between Christ's dealing with sin in the Redemption and in His life on earth. This is expressed with reference to the capacities of the human mind, especially the imagination.

> Hereto accordynge speketh seint Austyn thus: Goddes sone toke man/ and in hym he suffred that longeth to man/ and was made medecyne of man: and this medecyne is so mykel that it may not be thouȝt. For there is no pride/ but it may be iheled thoruȝ the mekenes of goddis sone: there is no couetise/ bot that it may be heled thoruȝ his pouerte: ne wraththe/ but that it may be heled thoruȝ his pacience: nor malice/ but that it may be heled thoruȝ his charitie: and more ouer there is no synne or wickednesse/ but that he

schal want it and be kept fro it/ the whiche
byholdeth inwardely and loueth and foloweth the
wordes and the dedes of that man in whom goddes sone
ȝaf hym self to vs in to ensample of good lyuynge.
(pp.7-8)

Love develops his exposition of Augustine in a way not dissimilar to his technique with Romans. In both he first quotes his *auctor*, elaborates on him, and then clinches his exposition by returning to the starting point of the text. In this passage 'Goddes sone toke man' is echoed by 'that man in whom goddes sone ȝaf hym self to vs'.

Though a full understanding of the mysterious essence of the greatness and nature of Christ's healing of humanity through His Sacred Humanity is beyond human thought, nevertheless an appreciation of it is possible to human minds through its medicinal properties and virtues, which are characterised in terms of 'contrarious' and 'disaccording' physic. As the Stanzaic Life of Christ explains, Christ healed by 'acordynge medicyne' working on a principle of similarity to the ailment; and by 'medicyn discordyng', which worked by a principle of opposition.

...by medicyn discordyng
helet we wer... (11.6239-40)

...synnes sotily

helet Ihesu ful of might. [cf. Love's 'mykel']

And vset ys most communely

contrarius medicyn forto dight

in fisik and in surgery,

who-ser wol hele a sore oright.

Contraria contrariis curantur.

And to hele prouyde he toke mekenesse (11.6263-69)

The medical conceit is particularly apt because it concerns a human fleshly cure, the remedial Incarnation. In the Stanzaic Life the 'medicyn discordyng' of Christ's 'mekenesse' heals 'prouyde'. Likwewise, in the Mirrour 'there is no pride/ but it may be iheled thoruȝ the mekenes of goddis sone'. The Stanzaic Life discusses further this particular form of healing with reference to the Passion.

Therto acordes Paule oright

by thys worde that I sal say,

he meket hymself that lorde of might

maad buxum to the deth that day.

Ad Philippenses ij°: Humiliauit semet

ipsum, factus obediens, usque ad mortem.

> As to the forme worde of the clause,
>
> ther-as he sayes he maket hym so,
>
> ther helet he pruyde by skylful cause
>
> contrariouse medicyn taking tho. (ll.6277-84)

So, although this 'medecyne is so mykel that it may not be thought' in itself, its healing by contraries may be thought. The 'medecyne' is not imaginable in its total essence but it is imaginable in its properties and effects, as described in a series of repetitive formulaic cures, in each of which a sin is healed by a visible virtue. The rather formulaic, repetitive patterning of the four remedial properties ('mekenes', 'pouerte', 'pacience', and 'charitie') in a catalogue emphasises that they all partake of the same nature, a single 'medecyne'. The same four are also grouped together later in the *probeme* in a passage deriving from the Meditationes Vitae Christi, where they are advertised as the exemplary virtues of Christ's life.

> For where schalt thow fynde so open ensample and doctrine of souereyn charite/ of perfite pouerte/ of profounde mekenes/ of pacience and other vertues...?(pp.11-12)

In the original, wisdom, obedience and prayer were also included, but the translator cuts them (see Peltier, p.510). In harmonising the choice of virtues in the two passages Love 'keys in' the untranslated part of his *probeme* to the alterations in

his rendering of the *probemium*. Also, the chosen four are appropriate to his audience and the omitted virtues are better suited to the enclosed religious. Whereas in the *probemium* of the original, Christ's life, if held 'in arcano pectoris', is declared not only to be effective against vices but also a formidable means of providing affective meditative experience and gradually raising and purifying the soul (see Peltier, pp.510-11), Love's *probeme* emphasises the Active Life: the exemplary nature of Christ's deeds and his words are to be imagined, loved and followed. So when Love recommends the benefits of the Life of Christ, 'the whiche byholdeth inwardely and loueth and foloweth the wordes and the dedes of that man in whom goddes sone ȝaf hym self to vs in to ensample of good lyuynge' (p.8), he is employing the language of meditation and imagination in the service of 'good lyuynge'. These modest ambitions are reinforced immediately after the 'medical' passage by the reintroduction of the concepts of the hope in the afterlife and the stirring of the soul without great mystical experience.

> Wherfore now bothe men and wymmen and euery age and euery dignyte of this worlde is stired to hope of euerelastyng lyf. (p.8)

This deliberately chimes with the earlier exposition of Romans.

(iii) 'Scripture and Writynge': 'Drawynge Oute' for Edification

To choose a genre and source is the first task of the translator, just as he has to choose which material to translate and which to omit from within the source. Edging closer to an acknowledgement that he is translating a Life of Christ, Love refers to a tradition of vernacular as well as Latin devotional writings, and particularly Lives of Christ, as the 'souereyn' books deriving from Holy Writ. They are indeed 'dyuers' in their 'maneres' and 'purposes', as witnessed by the remarkable variety exhibited in extant instances of the genre.

> And for this hope and to this entente/ with holy writt also ben writen dyuerse bookes and tretees of devouȝt men/ not onliche to clerkes in latyn/ but also in englisch to lewed men and wommen and hem that ben of symple vnderstondynge. (p.8)

Note the words 'with holy writt': Love is quite content that such Latin and vernacular works should be annexed to the Bible. It would, moreover, be possible to interpet this passage as meaning that there were some works with a Latin version for clerks and a vernacular version for the less-educated lay men and women. In any case, for the 'lewed' it is not only a question of language but also one of difficulty of content. The content can be simplified in the process of Englishing by compiling and commentary as well as by competent interlingual rendering. At

this opportune moment, Love introduces by name for the first time the Meditationes Vitae Christi, a work in which such simplicity already exists in its making 'pleyn' of the Gospels:

> Among the whiche beth writen deuout meditaciouns of cristes lyf/ more pleyn in certeyn parties than is expressed in the gospelle of the foure euangelistes. And/ as it is seide/ the devout man and worthy clerk/ Bonauenture/ wroot hem to a religious woman in latyn. (p.8)

Love closely translates the *nomen libri* of the source, 'meditaciouns of cristes lyf', although the title is not formally acknowledged as such. Perhaps Love, bearing in mind his imposition of a new title on the work, is motivated, either consciously or subconsciously, to extinguish the threatening numinousness of the *auctor*'s *nomen libri* by not referring to it as 'a book called meditaciouns of cristes lyf'. The use of the word 'pleyn' (describing the 'sentence' of the Meditationes Vitae Christi), meaning both 'plain' and 'full' is interesting. In being 'more pleyn' than the gospels it elucidates and fleshes out their *sentence* like a commentary. Later in the *proheme* Love declares meditation to be a mode of Biblical exposition (p.9). The worthiness of the Meditationes Vitae Christi is enhanced by the authorship of a good man and worthy clerk. The moral life of the *auctor* often attracted comment, and was dealt with under the heading *vita auctoris* in the scholastic prologue. There was a

contemporary debate as to whether the sacraments and sermons of priests lacking a good intent could be good (see above, pp.90-91). As a form of preaching the Meditationes Vitae Christi is validated by the worth of Bonaventure's life. There may be perhaps a hint of caution or uncertainty over authorship in the 'Attende lector' notice, which states that it is only according to 'common opinion' that the venerable Doctor Bonaventure wrote the work: it is 'secundum communem opinionem/ a venerabili doctore Bonauentura' (p.6). However, it is telling that the work was thought so worthy as to be by him.[44]

The Meditationes Vitae Christi is evaluated for its *materia* and its *utilitas*, its 'fructuouse mater', and also for its 'manere' which is affective and makes the *sentence* 'pleyne'.

> The whiche scripture and writynge/ for the fructuouse mater ther of sterynge specially to the loue of Jesu/ and also for the pleyne sentence to commune vnderstondynge/ semeth among othere souereynly edifienge to symple creatures./ the whiche as children hauen nede to be fedde with mylke of lyȝte doctrine/ and not with sadde mete of grete clergie and of hiȝe contemplacioun. (p.8)

In this passage, which is not translated from the Latin, Love uses what looks like a translator's doublet, 'scripture and writynge' (a Romance word plus a Germanic word, as was often the

practice in doublets). However, the terms are not synonymous. It would appear that an important distinction is being drawn, in which 'scripture' can only mean Holy Scripture and 'writynge' can only mean non-Biblical materials, presumably such as commentary, homily, meditation and other passages of instruction or devotion. Such a distinction is a proper one to make as it acknowledges the composite nature of the Meditationes Vitae Christi in terms both of 'manere' and 'matere'. This distinction is evidently made when Love refers to 'holy writt and...dyuerse bookes' (p.8). It also provides a precedent for Love's own 'writynge', which includes additions to his source, and also his recourse to Scripture. All Lives of Christ are such 'scripture and writynge'.

The Meditationes Vitae Christi is 'amonge othere souereynly edifienge to symple creatures' (p.8). These words recall Love's extended *expositio sententie* of Romans in which 'souereynly the wordes and the dedes written of oure lord Jesu crist' 'principally norisshen and strengthen... hope' (p.7), and in which 'alle thinges...specially of oure lord Jesu crist/ they ben writen to oure lore'. 'Amonge othere' could mean that the Meditationes Vitae Christi is sovereignly edifying amongst its other qualities and functions, or amongst other devotional writings, including Lives of Christ. In any case it is the sovereign text amidst the sovereign literary genre recounting the sovereign life, a not inconsiderable assessment and

recommendation. Of course, the Mirrour can only benefit from this prestige.

Having described, assessed and recommended the nature and *utilitas* of his source, Love writes of the circumstances of his Englishing of it. Some devout people asked him to translate the Meditationes Vitae Christi, to which he has added materials for the benefit of 'symple' 'men and wommen'.

> Wherfore/ at the instaunce and the prayer of somme deuoute soules/ to edificacioun of suche men or wommen is this drawynge out of the forseide book of cristes lyf wryten in englisch/ with more putte to in certeyn parties and also with drawynge of dyuerse auctoritees and materes as it semeth to the writere here of most spedeful and edifienge to hem that ben of symple vnderstondynge. (p.8)

Like the translators of the Stanzaic Life and the Speculum Devotorum Love is asked by devout others to perform the work. This is morally important for the translator because it could be construed as presumptuous to make such an English book on one's own initiative. The Mirrour reflects an act of obedience and compliant charity. That those who asked for the book were themselves devout reflects well on the nature of Love's enterprise. Love has already stated that the 'entent' of the Meditationes Vitae Christi is indeed profitable. In that his

intention harmonises with that of his source, albeit with a differing emphasis for the benefit of his audience, he cannot be morally culpable on this count either. Most importantly, in that the 'entent' is pure and pious, he is morally free from blameworthiness, however well or ill his enterprise may turn out.

In order to highlight the *sentence* of the original suitable for his intended audience Love points out that he has added more materials and authorities to his original. This reminds us somewhat of St. Bonaventure's definition of a commentator as someone who adds his own and others' materials for the purposes of elucidating the *sentence* of the *auctor* (see above, pp.51-53). Love takes care to distinguish between the addition of authoritative and other, less authoritative, *materiae*: 'dyuerse auctoritees and materes'. Also reminiscent of St. Bonaventure's discussion is the idea that the *auctor*'s materials retain principal place with the commentator's as additional and supportive, hence Love's expression 'with more putte to in certeyn parties'. The translator has the role of choosing which parts need augmenting and which need only a rendering of the literal sense.

The term 'drawynge out', meaning 'translation', is used. Later Love describes himself as 'the drawere out' (p.13). The Promptorium Parvulorum pairs 'drawyn owt' with 'extraho', and in the Catholicon Anglicum 'to draw out or up' is paired with 'extrahere'. [25] 'Extractio' also means 'paraphrase' or

'précis', as in Thomas Gallus's use of the term in his two interpretative abridgements of Pseudo-Dionysius. ** It could be, then, that Love has chosen his term with some care, especially given the context of commentary-activity, for it may be that he sees his rendering of his *auctor* as open and periphrastic. Indeed, *expositio sententie*, in being not word-for-word translating but an elaboration or selective excerption of the import of the text, is inevitably periphrastic. Likewise, just as an *Extractio* abbreviates, so Love cuts out or condenses materials without disrupting the *sentence*.

(iv) *The Rule of Dyuers Ymaginaciouns* I: Meditation in English for *Symple Soules*

The Mirrour's *proheme* draws on medieval theory of imagination in discussing the nature of the English work and the contemplative levels at which it functions as a series of fleshly 'ymaginaciouns' of the Sacred Humanity. The theory dovetails into audience needs. Also, Love's assessment of his choices in shaping his new English Life of Christ shows an awareness of the range and ideology of theory of imagination and contemplative literature, which may be cited to illuminate his approach. The works of Hilton and the Cloud-author are particularly helpful because they, like the Mirrour, were orthodox and popular in their approaches to meditation and imagination.** Furthermore,

Love actually had some acquaintance with the works of Hilton, whom he admires and actually recommends. All three of these imaginative writers knew the capacities of their readers, and, though their target-audiences differed, they shared the same assumptions about what sort of imagination and contemplation was suitable for their specific purposes, for they identify for whom they write and for whom they do not. In Englishing the Meditationes Vitae Christi Love changed its character somewhat by cutting out higher contemplative materials and upgrading the stress on the humbler aspects of meditation. He explains this re-orientation of source in terms of audience-need whilst continuing to adhere to standard theory of imagination. This modulation of function marks a constitutive shift within the genres of *Vitae Christi* and meditative literature. A different work is developed in accordance with the constrictions and opportunities of genre and the source itself. Just as a translator has to pick which part of the *sententia* to expound to his audience so also must he adapt to an appropriate form, be it a change into another genre, as with the *chanson de geste* poem in Jesus College Oxford MS 29 (see above, pp. 14-17) or the introspective lyrics of the fourteenth-century version of John of Hoveden's Philomena (see above, p.2).

Orthodox attitudes to meditation on the Sacred Humanity and theory of imagination and contemplation fed through into the works of Hilton and the author of The Cloud of Unknowing, who discourse eloquently on its nature and merits. The approbation

accorded to meditating on the Sacred Humanity of Christ is seen, for example, in II.30 of The Scale of Perfection, when a tripartite scheme of love, somewhat resembling the three degrees of contemplation, previously defined in Book I, is invoked. [**] The first and lowest level is the love of God by faith alone, and the second is knowledge of God gained by thinking imaginatively on His Humanity. This category applies to the Mirrour. The third and highest stage is when the intellect comprehends perfect love with knowledge of God's divinity, albeit that the divinity is still united to His humanity, this being the only manner in which the divinity can be apprehended by humanity on this earth. The route to the godhead is via the manhood, and such is the route taken by Love's audience, though they are unlikely to achieve mystical union. Hilton, though he was writing for a different audience, accords with Love's approach.

> Nerþeles vnto swilk soules þat can not þinken of . Godhed gostly, þat þei schuld not erren in here deuocioun, bot þat þei schuld be conforted and strengþed þurgh sum maner inward beholdynge of Iesu, for to forsake synne & þe luf of þe werld; þerefore oure Lorde Iesu temprep His vnseable liȝt of His Godhed, & clopiþ it vndir bodily liknes of His manhed, & schewiþ it to þe inner eiȝe of a soule & fediþ it with þe luf of his precious flesche gostly...oure Lord Iesu in His Godhed is a spirit, þat may not be seen of vs lifande in flesche as He is

in His blessid liȝt. Þerfore we schal liuen vnder
Þe schadwe of His manhede as longe as we are here. [17]

The simple soul, who, as Love puts it, 'kan not thenke bot bodies or bodily thinges nowe haue sumwhat accordynge vnto his affeccioun wherwith he may fede and stire his deuocioun' (p.9), and will in all probability not get very far as a mystic. Rather he will know Jesus and love Him, in the words of Hilton, 'al manly and fleschly after Þe condiciouns & Þe likнes of man. And vpon Þat rewarde Þei [i.e. simple soulsl schapen al here wirkynge, in here Þouȝtes & in here affeccioun/ Þei dreden Him as a man, & wurschipen Him & luffen Him principally in manly ymaginacioun, & go no ferther'. [18] Such simple souls think of God by anthropomorphising Him, fearing, loving, begging mercy from Him and worshipping Him as they would a man. [19] When loving Him they do so with an image in mind of His life and Passion on earth, which is precisely the same technique employed in the Mirrour. This is not as excellent as loving the spirit, but it is still excellent, and is not untouched by grace. The Cloud-author was not particularly interested in such an audience for his own writings: '3e, Þouȝ al Þat Þei be ful good men of actiue leuyng, ȝit Þis mater acordiþ nouȝt to hem.' [20] Here he could be writing of Love's audience, but he was only interested in 'parceners in Þe hieȝst pointe of Þis contemplatiue acte'. [21] Even so, the House of God has many mansions, as Hilton pointed out: some of these are for the perfect contemplatives who gain the highest heavenly rewards, but some of these mansions are for

the simpler souls. [34] In The Book of Privy Counselling the manhood of Christ is declared to be the door through which men are brought to the 'goostly fode of deuocioun', which is enough, in fact, to save them, whether they contemplate the Godhead as advanced mystics, or merely behold the suffering of the Manhood:

> þei entren by þe dore, þat in beholdyng of þe Passion of Criste sorowen here wickydnes, þe whiche ben cause of þat Passion, wiþ bitter reprouyng of hem-self, þat deseruid & not suffrid, & pite & compassion of þat worþi Lorde, þat so vili suffrid & noþing deseruid; & siþen lifte up here hertes toþe loue & þe goodnes of his Godheed, in þe whiche he vouchi-saaf to meke hym so lowe in oure deedly manheed. Alle þees entren bi þe dore, & þei scholen be saaf. & whiþer þei gone inne, in þe beholdynge of þe loue & þe goodnes of his Godheed, or oute, in beholdyng of þe peyne of his manheed, þei scholen fynde goostly fode of deuocion inowz soffisaunt & aboundyng to þe helpe & sauyng of here soules, þof al þei coman neuer ferþer inwardes in þis liif.[35]

Hilton very definitely asserts the unique power of meditating on the humanity of Christ. Just as Love finds morality, edification and a true ground for devotion for his audience in meditations of the Sacred Humanity, so also does Hilton, who states that 'until your heart is cleansed from such sins through

a firm grasp of the truth, and consideration of Christ's humanity, you cannot come to any true spiritual knowledge of God'. [36] Those who want to go on to higher contemplation must also pass through this stage of meditating on the Sacred Humanity. It is the truest way to ghostly feeling of God. In fact, the Cloud-author cannot see a way to ghostly feeling for anyone who has not started here.

> Neuerþeles 3it ben þees faire meditacions þe trewest wey þat a synner may haue in his begynnyng to þe goostly felyng of himself & of God. & me wolde þenk þat it were inpossible to mans vnderstondyng - þof al God may do what he wil- þat a synner schuld com to be restful in þe goostly felyng of him-self & of God, bot 3if he first sawe & felt by ymaginacion & meditacion þe bodely doynges of hym-self & of God, & þerto sorowed for þat þat were to sorowen, & maad joie for þat þat were to joien. & who-so comeþ not in bi þis weye, he comeþ not trewly; and þerfore he mote stonde þeroute. [37]

This statement has implications for the *utilitas* of the Mirrour because a more advanced mystic might have a use for the work as a first step in meditative exercise, for as Hilton maintains, God in Himself can never be grasped by the imagination, though with grace an increasingly proficient beginner may move from 'manly' to 'gostly affeccions'. [38] Yet he

warns that we should never fall into the falsehood of separating the humanity from the divinity. Love too makes the point that we should never believe the manhood to be in reality sundered from the godhead, only departed 'in manere' for the provisional purposes of devout imagination (Mirrour, pp.216-7). Like the ideal poet of Sir Philip Sidney's Apology, the devout meditator of the unauthenticated does not lie, for he does not affirm. [39]

For Hilton, the love of God should be as much of a spiritual nature as possible, but it is only by starting out from, and devoutly engaging in, the fleshly and imaginative that the divine can be approached. The human soul is incapable of starting at a high ghostly level:

> Þese wordes & al oþer þat are spoken of oure Lorde in holy writynge bi bodily liknes, moste nedis ben vndirstonden gostly, elles þer is no sauour in hem. Nerþeles þe cause whi swilke maner wordes are seid of oure Lorde in Holy Writt is þis. For we are so fleschly þat we kun not speken of God ne vndirstonden of Him, bot if we bi swilke wordes first ben entrid in. Nerþeles when þe inner eiȝe opned þurȝ grace for to hafe a litel siȝt of Iesu, þan schal þe soule turne liȝtly inowȝ alle swilke wordes of bodily þinges into gostly vndirstondynge. [40]

grace' are 'tendrely norisched as children, vntil þai ben able for to comen to þe faders borde & taken of his hande hool brede.' 'þis knowynge is hol brede, mete for perfite soules, & it is reformynge in felynge'. [4] Love's choice of milk does not mean that he is dismissing the benefits of the higher contemplation, towards which the Meditationes Vitae Christi offers significant access; it is more the case that the 'pleyne sentence' of the text, its clarity of moralising, and its accessible affectivity help to make the meditative elements all the more profitable to 'symple soules'. The need for plain doctrine and teaching influences the treatment of the source in the main body of the work, generally involving the straightforward exclusion of the more advanced contemplative materials and a concomitant priority given to moralisation, which is sometimes added to the source or made more explicit. For example, in the Die Lune section, in Chapter V '¶ Hou Joseph thouȝte to leue priuely oure lady seint Marye' (pp.41-45), Love turns the narrative into more of a moral exemplum than in the original, emphasising the profitable doctrine of a variety of virtues as individually exemplified by the three protagonists:

> And so in this forseide processe we haue profitable doctryne and good ensaumple: first/ in oure blessid lord Jesu of penaunce suffrynge/ of perfite charite/ and trewe compassioun:✓ also in his moder marie of profounde mekenes and pacience in tribulacioun:✓ and

> in hir housbonde Joseph of vertuous riȝtwisnesse aȝenst false suspecioun. (p.45)

This statement, put by Love in an emphatic position at the end of the chapter for moralisation, does not exist in the Latin text.

An advantage of meditation is that it does not of itself require the ability to read the Latin Scriptures. Love has the same approach as Hilton, who in The Scale of Perfection (I.15) declared there to be three means to attain contemplation, 'reading the Scriptures and books of spiritual instruction, meditation, and assiduous and devout prayer'. [42] He recommends the efficacy of meditation, which helps the uneducated, who cannot read the Scriptures, to a recognition of their own sinfulness and to virtues:

> You cannot very well make use of reading the Scriptures, and therefore it behoves you to occupy yourself more in prayer and meditation. By meditation you will see how much you need virtues, and by prayer obtain them. By meditation you will recognise your misery, your sins...also you will see the virtues which you ought to have.[43]

More generally, Hilton's three-part schema for contemplation as expounded in Book I of The Scale of Perfection provides a valid context for Love's own meditative approach. The first

stage of contemplation, one of non-contemplation, is 'colde, naked raison' which does not need to be stirred with love/charity to be efficacious. [44] The Mirrour's approach accords to the second degree: 'þe secounde partie of contemplacion lith principally in affection withouten light of vnderstondynge of gostli þynges'.[45] This suits Love's devout simple souls in the Active Life whom the Holy Ghost inspires with love and devotion at the thought of the Life and passion. The soul experiences joy and comfort, but no inner secrets of the Bible. Still, there is a sweetness and a purification from sin. Further contextual illumination may be gained from Hilton's simplification of the six-part schema of Richard of St. Victor into two parts, the first of which describes well the approach of the Mirrour, which 'is had principally in ymaginacioun, & litel in vndirstondynge. þis knowynge is in chosen soules bigynnande & profitande in grace, þat knowen God & lufen Him al manly and not gostly, with manly affecciouns & with bodily liknes'. [46] The higher stage, which is peripheral but not wholly irrelevant to the Mirrour, is an illumined cognition detached from earthly thoughts and imaginations, the seeing of God with a sweet and burning love, and, with an ultimate rejection of the imagination, an ecstatic union. The higher 'knowynge'

> ...is principally feled in vndirstandynge, whan it is conforted and illumined bi þe Holy Gost, & litel in ymaginacioun. For þe vndirstandynge is ladi, & þe

> ymaginacioun is as mayden seruende to þe vndirstandynge when nede is. [47]

Love's audience will have edifying imaginations according to their capacities, and some of them may reach further up the scale than others. Depending on their experience and capacities, some will be able to use the Mirrour to start the process at a lower level but then go on to the *via negativa* by transcending what has been imagined.

Love is also aware of the possibility that the reader or hearer of the Mirrour might feel grace or even a certain mystical sweetness: 'who so redeth or hereth this book/ felynge eny goostly swetnes or grace there thorugh' (p.13). The sympathetic and emotive treatment of the Sacred Humanity, and the imaginative vividness of narrative and meditation may possibly cause a mystical response in those capable of it, but the majority will be rewarded by being moved Godwards through the virtuous emotion of hope. Just as 'holy writt may be expowned and vndirstonden in dyuers maneres and to dyuers purposes/ so that it be not agenst the bileue or gode maneres' (p.9) by those who make books, so may it also be diversely expounded by the readers and hearers of the Meditationes Vitae Christi and the Mirrour. Also, knowledge of doctrine is a prerequisite of all contemplation. Moreover, simple souls 'hauen nede', absolutely, of doctrine 'and not' a 'nede' *per se* of 'grete clergie and of hige contemplacioun'

(p.8). The first is a necessity; the second pertains to the higher flourishing of the spiritual life.

Love clarifies his views on the degree of contemplation appropriate to his intended audience. Unlike his source he starts with basics, telling his audience that such imaginings are indeed permissible and suitable for them. Unsurprisingly, he has lower expectations of his audience than Pseudo-Bonaventure, who reminded his 'dilecta filia' that St. Francis achieved perfection in Jesus through contemplation of His Life; and that contemplation by its very nature could purify her by gradual steps, and that Jesus Himself might take over from the author as teacher and guide. Moreover, contemplation may make her soul catch fire and enable her to distinguish the false from the true (Peltier, p.510). All this is omitted by Love, for such things are unlikely to happen to members of his intended audience, and, in any case, it is not the intention of his work. Appropriating an *auctoritas*, allegedly from St. Bernard, Love states that the imagining of the Manhood of Christ is particularly suitable for his audience, who can only imagine bodily images and are unlikely to proceed beyond corporeal thought and discourse. However, this level is profitable to them:

> To the whiche symple soules/ as seint Bernard seith/ contemplacioun of the manhede of criste is more lykynge/ more spedeful/ and more siker than is hiȝe contemplacioun of the godhede. And therfore to hem

is principally to be set in mynde the ymage of cristes incarnacioun/ passioun/ and resurreccioun: so that a symple soule that kan not thenke bot bodies or bodily thinges mowe haue somwhat accordynge vnto his affeccioun wherwith he may fede and stire his deuocioun. (pp.8-9)

For Love's audience, contemplation of the Sacred Humanity is more 'lykynge' (pleasing), 'spedeful' (efficacious), and 'siker' (trustworthy) than contemplating the Divinity. It is 'lykynge', as his discussion of tediousness and *ordinatio* in his 'epilogue' indicates, because there has to be an element of pleasure in order to teach and move effectively. Secondly, meditating on the divinity, as opposed to the humanity, would not be 'spedeful' for his intended audience. Thirdly, the close preacherly supervision of the imagination in the Mirrour (and the source) and the relative lack of ambiguity of a moralised historical narrative of Jesus's life is more 'siker', safer than the dangers of pride and delusion in higher contemplation. By a more humble mode of imagining, hope, love and understanding will be stirred in simple souls, who can grasp 'sikerly' the sacredly exemplary nature of Christ's life, suffering, death, and rising again. It is not necessary for salvation to generate an imaginative intercourse with Jesus Himself in meditation, as commended and recommended in the Latin original (Peltier, pp. 510-11). The Mirrour's audience's 'affecciouns' will be stirred Godwards in hope by the likenesses narrated to them. To this end the fundamental

affective images of Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection would 'work' for anybody.

In cutting the Meditationes Vitae Christi's higher contemplative materials, Love provides some explanation of his procedures and his rationale, which accords with his approach in his prologue. For example, in the Die Iouis section, in Chapter XXVI, '¶ Of the fleynge of oure lorde Jesu when the peple wolde haue made hym her kyng' (pp.137-41), there is a short statement that material from St. Bernard has been omitted because it might prove time-consumingly irksome to the intended audience.

> Of this mater seynt Bernarde in dyuerse places maketh faire processe and deuouȝte/ the whiche for also myche as it longeth and is pertynent specially to goostly folk/ and also as I hope is writen sufficiently in dyuerse tretees of contemplacioun/ and we passen ouer here/ as we done in many othere places/ suche auctorites of him leste this processe of cristes blissed lyf schulde be tediouse to commune peple and symple soules to the whiche it is specially writen. Amen. (pp.140-1)

Love feels able to drop this material because it is already 'sufficiently' available 'in dyuerse tretees of contemplacioun'. Already adequately represented in vernacular culture, it has no pressing need of further translation. To retranslate, especially

to an audience who would not appreciate it, would be an act of uncritical pleonasm within the genre, contrary to the purpose of edifying 'symple soules'. Though there is a standard medieval view that diverse retranslating is a good thing (because, as the Wycliffites put it, where one said darkly another may say it more openly (see above, p.135), to translate the above passage would be a fruitless, not fruitful, diversity. Love comments elsewhere on the reduction of higher contemplative materials, most notably on his abbreviation of the exposition of Mary and Martha as pertaining to the active and contemplative lives:

.

¶ Of actif lyf and contemplatyf.

By thise tweyne sistres byfore seide/ Martha and Maria/ as holy men and doctoures wryten/ ben vndirstande tweyne manere lyues of cristen men/ that is to say actyf lyf and contemplatyf lyf. Of the whiche there beeth many tretees and grete processe made of dyuerse doctoures / and specially the forsaide Bonauenture in this booke of cristes lyf maketh a longe processe/ aleggynge many auctoritees of seynt Bernarde/ the whiche processe thouȝ it so be that is ful good and fructuouse to men as vnto many gostly lyueres/ neuertheles for it semeth as inpertynent in grete partye to manye comoun persones and symple soules that this boke in Englische is writen to/ as it is seide ofte byfore/ therfore we

> passen ouer schortly/ takynge therof that semeth profitable and edificatyffe to oure purpose at thys tyme. (p.158)

Here Love is not responding merely to his source, but to a whole tradition of representation of Mary and Martha as the active and contemplative lives, 'of the whiche there beeth many tretees and grete processe made of dyuerse doctoures'. The aim of such a remark is also to point out to the reader that there is somewhere to go for further advice and information on this subject. Selection of *sentence* is determined by the translator's conception of audience-need. Though he cuts text from the original, he still, in a manner, translates a significant sense of it, because he delineates its context and function. In the same passage, Love shows his selfconsciousness, for, having summarised the treatment of this subject of Mary and Martha in the source, Love, initialling his words with a marginal '¶N', again points out exactly what he is doing:

> ¶ Vppon this forsaide processe of Bonauenture/ so schortly touched/ he alleggeth after many auctoritees of seynt Bernarde forto preue alle the partes therof/ that is to seie the firste of actif/ the secounde of contemplatyf/ and the thridde/ that is the secounde of actyf: the whiche we passe ouer with grete processe of contemplacioun and manye auctoritees of seynte Bernarde. (p.160)

If any of Love's simple souls think that they can 'move on' from the Mirrour to progress further in the contemplative life or the mixed life they are referred, at the end of this same chapter, to the next logical step in vernacular devotion, Hilton's Epistle on the Mixed Life.[48]

> Where of and othere vertuouse exercise that longeth to contemplatyf lyuynge/ and specially to a recluse/ and also of medled lyf/ that is to saye somtyme actyfe and somtyme contemplatyf as it longeth to dyuerse persones that in worldely astate hauen grace of goostly loue/ who so wole more pleynely be enformed and taught in Englisshe tonge lete hym loke the tretys that the worthy clerke and holy lyuere maister Walter hyltoun/ the chanoun of thurgartun/ wrote in englische by grace and hize discrecioun/ and he schal fynde there/ as I leue/ a sufficient scole and a trewe of alle thise... (pp.164-5)

Love evidently conceives of devotional works as being harmonised and graded into a hierarchy, though they all partake of the same scriptural *sentence*. Love, in choosing a specific audience, source, and reworking of it, does so from an awareness of a range of other works and their particular audiences. He sees the Mirrour as co-operatively complementing other works. So, not only does he shape the works of others for his own audience, he

shapes audiences for other works: 'translatio lectoris'. In the best tradition of medieval translation Love regards his activity as a complementary act of co-operation with other works, each rendering having its niche in the tradition, determined by the intended audience and the restricted justice it can do to the superabundant *sentence* of the Bible.

The Mirrour repeatedly instructs its audience in the basics of imaginative meditation. In being discussed so frequently the 'manere' of the Mirrour becomes a notable part of its own matter. Once the simple soul is reasonably well acquainted with the meditative technique he/she does not need to be provided with long specific meditations on each separate episode of the *Vita*. Therefore Love cuts them out, because they may be tedious. Instead he presents his readers with a general re-usable meditation, a *modus agendi* or 'maner', to be applied to the subsequent narrative. In that it provides access to the signified it may be regarded as an act of translation:

> But for also moche as it were long werk and perauenture tedyouse/ bothe to the rederes and the hereres here of/ ȝif alle the processe here of the blessed lyf of Jesu schulde be writen in Englische so fully by meditaciouns as it is ȝit hiderto after the processe of the book bifore nempned of Bonauenture in latyne/ therfore here after many chapitres and longe processe/ that semeth litel edificacioun inne as to

> the manere of symple folk/ that this book is specially writen too/ schal be lafte vnto it drawe to the passioun/ the whiche with the grace of Jesu schal be more pleynly contened as the mater that is moste nedefulle and moste edifienge and bifore onely tho materes that semen moste fructuous: and the chapitres of hem schullen be writen as god wole ȝeue grace (p.100).

The chapters on the Passion, which are divided according to the appropriate canonical hours, as in the Speculum Devotorum, will not be cut as the Passion demands unique and specific affective sympathy as the centre and climax of the book.

Love continues, instructing his readers and hearers to take heed carefully of everything projected before the eye of the imagination.

> Wherfore/ as the same bonauenture biddeth/ thow that wilt fele the swetnesse and the fruyte of thise meditaciouns/ take hede al gates and in all places/ deuouȝtly in thy mynde byholdynge the persone of oure lorde Jesu in alle his dedes/ as whan he stant with his disciples and whan with othere synful men/ and whan he precheth to the peple and hou he speketh to hem/ and also whan he eteth or taketh other bodily sustenaunce/ and also whan he worcheth myracles/ and

so forth/ takyng hede of alle his dedes and his maneres/ and principally byholdynge his blissed face/ ȝif thou kunne ymagyne it./ that semeth to me moste harde of alle othere/ but as I trowe it is moste likynge to hym that hath grace there offe. And so what tyme that singuler meditaciouns bene not specified/ this general schall suffice. Amen.

(pp.100-1)

The marginal gloss to this whole statement, '¶ Nota bene pro ordine capitulorum et modo scribendi in sequentibus' (p.100), concerns itself not with matter but manner, referring to both *forma tractatus*, 'ordine capitulorum', and *forma tractandi*, 'modo scribendi', thereby instructing the reader to take note not only of chapter order but also the manner of writing.[49] As regards the subject matter of this passage, nothing is quite so personal as looking directly at someone's face, for he/she might look back, or even converse with the imagining subject, as acknowledged by Love in the section dealing with the raising of Lazarus, in which 'we schulle here more specially gedere in oure entente/ and make vs by ymagynacioun as they we were present in bodily conuersacioun' (p.170). The reader/hearer too has a creative role in making and being in the work.

(v) *The Rule of Dyuers Ymaginaciouns* II: *Costly Substances*

In his *probeme* Love, in accordance with the same orthodox theory of imagination underpinning the works of Hilton and the Cloud-author, elaborates the status and mode of existence of the celestial images contained in his book of 'dyuers ymaginaciouns'. The approach of the Mirrour is the approach of Gallus in his Pseudo-Dionysian commentaries and Richard of St. Victor in his contemplative writings. [60]

The incorporeal substances of heaven, having no bodily existence, need to be likened to things which we know corporeally, in order to be known of or appreciated. Such provisional likening is the proper 'manere' of meditating. As Love puts it:

> Wherfore it is to vndirstonde at the bygynnynge as for a principal and general rule of dyuers ymaginaciouns that folowen after in this book/ that the discryuynge of speches or dedes of god in heuene and angeles and other gostly substaunces ben only writen in this manere and to this entent/ that is to seie as deuoute ymaginaciouns and liknesses stirynge symple soules to the loue of god and desire of heuenly thinges.(p.9)

Such corporeal likening is a function of the imagination, permissible as long as it is acknowledged as being no more than imaginative, the *manere*, the *modus agendi/forma tractandi*. Through imagining, the *affectus* is moved to desire those unknowable incorporeal things and to further love of God: such is the 'entent' and 'fruyte'/'prophit' of both source and translation. Note how Love relates form to intentionality, 'manere' to 'entent', interrelating prologue categories idiomatically.

Here Love is saying what orthodox medieval theory of imagination said about incorporeal spiritual substances, which can only be described to frail humanity in corporeal terms. For Richard of St. Victor imagination was necessary for ascending to the contemplation of heavenly things. [51] Gallus maintained that names which normally referred to corporeal things are upraised anagogically to designate the divine. [52] Grosseteste, commenting on De Mystica Theologia, discussed the necessarily earthly element in the anagogic passages of the Bible, which uses symbols and imaginative similitudes for the benefit of humans, which is why theologians write imaginatively when writing of God. [53] The same applies to writers of meditations on heavenly events. Medieval commentary-tradition on Pseudo-Dionysius's De Caelesti Hierarchia concurs on the nature and function of such anagogical corporeal imagery: it raises up the soul of the reader 'to loue and desire gostly invisible thinges that he kyndely knoweth not'

(Mirrour, p.9). In the Extractio on De Caelesti Hierarchia Gallus describes the mode of presentation of the angels:

> Quapropter sancta ordinatio Dei, quae est principium perfectionis, dignata facere nostram sanctissimam hierarchiam supermundane imitatricem angelicarum hierarchiarum, ipsas angelicas hierarchias, in se immateriales, in sacris scripturis designavit variis materialibus figuris et formis compositis, ut nos (juxta singulorum capacitatem) per sanctas significationes formarum sensibilium reducamur ad contemplationem simplicium, et non formabilium, et semper similiter se habentium, supernarum virtutum.
>
> Neque enim possibile est nostrae menti sursum excitari ad illam immaterialem imititationem et contemplationem caelestium hierarchium, nisi ipsa mens nostra (secundum conditionem praesentis caecitatis) utatur manuductione signorum materialium: reputando, quadam intima aestimatione, sensibiles pulchritudines esse imagines invisibilis pulchritudinis, et sensibiles gratos odores esse expressiones distributionis odoris insensibilis, et materialia lumina esse imagines intelligibilis luminis, et cognitivam intelligentiam sacrarum scripturarum esse imaginem comprehensivae contemplationis quae mentes satiat....et similiter

reputando de quibuslibet aliis, quae caelestibus quidem substantiis supermundane conveniunt, nobis autem sub signis sensibilibus in Scripturis traduntur.

So God's holy ordination, which is the beginning of perfection, condescending to make our most holy hierarchy in a supernatural way an imitator of the angelic hierarchies, designated in the holy scriptures the actual angelic hierarchies, which are in themselves immaterial, by various material figures and composed forms, that we (according to our individual capacity) should, by the holy significations of forms which are comprehensible to the senses, be upraised to the contemplation of celestial virtues which are simple and without form, and always remain the same.

For it is not possible for our mind to be raised up to that immaterial imitation and to the contemplation of the heavenly hierarchies unless our mind itself (as far as our present condition [of blindness] allows) uses the guidance given by material signs; considering, as the result of inner judgement, that kinds of beauty discernible to our senses are images of that beauty which cannot be seen, and that pleasing smells, discernible to our

senses, are expressions of diffusion that cannot be so discerned, and that actual visible lights are images of light which is open only to the understanding, and that the cognitive understanding of the holy Scriptures is the image of that all-embracing contemplation which fully satisfies

> minds....and one must draw a similar conclusion about any number of things, which describe appropriately heavenly substances in a way that is beyond worldly understanding, but are taught to us in the Scriptures under the guise of figures that can be grasped by the senses. [54]

It is not just the *probeme* that manifests mainstream theory of imagination, for when in the main body of the text Love comes to describe angels and events in heaven he is most careful to elucidate their status and mode of existence and to draw attention to their imaginative representation. In the first chapter, '¶ A deuoute meditacioun of the grete counseile in heuene for the restorynge of man and his sauacioun' (pp.13-19), a short instruction in the original to understand the chapter not literally, but figuratively, 'hoc autem non proprie, sed appropriate intelligas', is greatly expanded:

> ¶ And thus was termyned and ended the grete counseille in heuene for the restorynge of man and his sauacioun. The whiche processe schal be taken as

> in liknesse and oneliche as a manere of a parable and deuouȝte ymagynacioun/ stirynge man to loue god souereynly for his grete mercye to man and his endeles godenesse✓ also/ to honour and worschippe the blissed aungelis of heuene for hir good wille to man... And thus mykel and in this manere may be saide and thouȝt by deuouȝt contemplacioun of that was done abouen in heuene bifore the Incarnacioun of Jesu. Now goo we doun to erthe✓ and thynk we how hit stood with his blessid moder marie... (p.19)

Great care is taken in analytically defining the parameters and degree of meditative licence: 'thus mykel and in this manere may be saide', i.e. the limit, mode and permissibility of the imaginative act. The words 'abouen' and 'doun' indicate a physical 'up/down' imagining of heaven and earth. The Cloud-author inveighs against the literalistic and over-credulous use in meditations of such directional and physically-oriented words, like 'in' and, in particular, 'up': 'Bot now þou mayst not come to heuen not bodely, bot goostly. & it it schal be so goostly þat it schal not be on bodely maner: nowþer upwardes ne donwardes'. [55] To get round this Love stresses that the going down from heaven to earth of the meditating imagination is purely imaginative, like a parable. The Catholicon, citing Hugutio, defines a parable as a similitude or comparison of dissimilar things: 'parabola id est similitudo siue comparatio ex dissimilibus rebus'. [56] Here Love is warning that the

dissimilars should not be believed to be equated in reality. With this caveat safely entered, the imagination is all the more free to engage in detailed fleshly meditating. Highly 'goostly' angels are compared to dissimilar 'bodily' humanity, happy faces and bending knees included, as with Gabriel:

> ¶ Now take hede and ymagyne of goostly thing as it were bodily/ and thinke in thyn herte/ as thou were present in the siȝt of that blessed lord/ with how benigne and glad semblaunt he speketh these wordes. and on the tother side how gabriel/ with a likynge face and glad chere/ vppon his knees knelynge and with drede reuerently bowynge/ resceyueth this message of his lorde.
>
> ¶ And so anon Gabriel risynge vppe/ glad and iocunde/ toke his fliȝt fro the hiȝe heuene to erthe and in a moment he was in mannis likenesse byfore the virgyne marye... (p.24)

The reader/hearer, having encountered an anthropomorphic Gabriel in heaven, is a little jarred by being told immediately after this that the Archangel shifted shape into 'mannis likenesse' for the benefit of Mary. This frame-breaking would remind the reader of the provisionality of the imaginative meditation: it is as if imagination lays bare itself in good faith by reminding the reader of its artificiality. This mode of representation must

not be taken for real. Such 'frame-breaking' is inevitable when things incorporeal, imagined in bodily form, and genuinely corporeal things, interact in the narrative. Love provides frequent reminders throughout his work of the artificiality of the mode of imagining. For example, the limitations of imagination are also delineated when, reflecting the concern of theologians that the Trinity be not misrepresented by bodily representation, Love interpolates into his text an appropriate warning, glossed twice '¶ Nota' and '¶ Nota bene' (Mirrour p.25):

> ¶ But now be war here that thou erre nouȝt in ymagynacioun of god and of the holy trynyte/ supposynge that thise thre persones/ the fader/ the sone/ and the holy goost ben as thre erthely men that thou seest wyth thy bodily eiȝe: the whiche ben thre dyuerse substaunces/ eche departed fro other/ so that none of them is other. Nay/ it is not so in this gostely substaunce of the holy trinite! for tho thre persones ben one substaunce and oon god/ and ȝit is there none of thise persones othere: but this mayst thou nouȝt vnderstonde by mannis resoun ne consceyue with thy bodily witt. And therfore take we here a general doctrine in this matere now for all gate. What tyme thou herest or thynkest of the trinyte/ or of the godhede/ or of goostly creatures as aungeles and soules/ the whiche thou maist nat see with thy bodily eyȝe in her propre kynde/ ne fele with thy

> bodily witt/ studie not to fer in that mater/ occupie not thy witt therwith as thou woldest vnderstonde it by kyndely resoun/ for it wole not be while we be in this bustous body/ lyuynge here in erthe. And therfore whan thou herest eny suche thing in byleue that passeth thy kyndely resoun/ trowe sothfastly that it is soth/ as holy chirche techeth/ and goo no furthere. (p.25)

The imagination is limited, then, by theological givens. Although reason has a role in constructing 'ymaginaciouns', it should not investigate too deeply their content on those imaginative terms, because the imagination only provides insufficient, though serviceable, notions of 'goostly' things. As Gallus puts it in the Extractio:

> Haec igitur quae de sensibilibus invisibilium descriptionis scripsimus, non plenarie invisibilia manifestant, sed nobis conferunt et illuminant ne in imaginariis descriptionibus animos defugiamus, nihil ultra vel superius quaerentes; sed discamus per praedicta et in aliis figuris sensibilibus investigare invisibilem veritatem.

> Similarly, these things which we have written about the descriptions of invisible things rendered in terms understood by the senses, do not reveal the

invisible things fully, but convey a notion of them to us and elucidate them, lest we hold down our minds in description based on images, seeking nothing beyond or above that. But let us learn by means of the abovementioned to investigate the unseen truth in other figures which can be understood by the senses.[57]

This assessment is rounded off in Love's *probeme* by an *auctoritas* culled from Gregory.

> For/ as seint gregory seith/ therfore is the kyngdom of heuene lickened to erthely thinges: that by tho thinges that ben visible/ and that man kyndely knoweth/ he be stired and rauysched to loue and desire gostly invisible thinges that he kyndely knoweth not. (p.9)

Here, the relatively humble starting point for Love's readers is acknowledged, beginning as it does with 'kynde' knowledge. However, the important point is made that the 'gostly' invisible things in themselves remain unknown. Love does not say here that love itself is a form of mystical knowledge. Devotional desire here is not presented as equivalent to, or integrated with, knowledge of the things desired. However, the imagination does direct the *affecciouns* towards these unknown things. This movement towards what is desired is consistent with the emphasis

in the opening part of the 'proheme' on hope, which stirs the soul towards God from within, or as the Cloud-author puts it:

> ...sum-tyme he [God] wil enflaume þe body of a deuoute seruaunt of his here in þis liif--not onys or twies, bot parauenture riȝt ofte, & as him likiþ -- wiþ ful wonderful swetnes & counfortes. Of þe whiche, som beþ not comyng fro wiþ-outyn into þe body bi þe wyndowes of oure wittys, bot fro wiþ-inne, risyng and spryngyng of habundaunce of goostly gladnes, & of trewe deuocion in þe spirit. Soche a counforte & soche a swetnes schal not be had suspecte; & schortly to sey, I trowe þat he þat feliþ it may not haue it suspecte.[58]

(vi) *The Rule of Dyuers Ymaginaciouns* III: Beyond the Biblical Text

In a fluent continuation of his argument, following on logically from his citing of Gregory's 'gostly invisible thinges', Love comes into contact as a translator with his source for the first time. He transposes and renders an *expositio sententie* of a passage from near the end of the Latin *prohemium*, which teaches the 'dilecta filia' the rules for imagining events not contained in the Bible.

Non autem credas, quod omnia quae ipsum dixisse, vel fecisse constat, meditari possimus, vel quod omnia scripta sint: ego vero ad majorem impressionem, ea sic, ac si ita fuissent, narrabo, prout contingere vel contigisse credi possunt, secundum quasdam imaginarias repraesentationes, quas animus diversimode percipit. Nam et circa divinam Scripturam meditari, exponere et intelligere multifarie, prout expedire credimus, possumus, dummodo non sit contra veritatem vitae, justitiae et doctrinae, et non sit contra fidem et contra bonos mores. (Peltier, p.511)

Also seint John seith/ that alle tho thinges that Jesu dide ben not writen in the gospell. Wherfore we mowen to sterynge of deuocioun ymagine and thenke dyuerse wordes and dedes of hym and othere that we fynde not writen/ so that it be not aȝenst the byleue/ as seynt gregor and other doctoures seyne. that holy writt may be expowned and vndirstonden in dyuers maneres and to dyuerse purposes/ so that it be not aȝenst the bileue or gode maneres. (p.9)

The first English sentence compares interestingly with that of the source. The Latin directly addresses the 'dilecta filia' with an imperative, an exhortation not to believe that all that

was said or done by Jesus was written. Love translates this imperative into an evangelical *auctoritas* in the third person, amplifying the *sentence* of the Latin by tapping deeper than his *auctor* into the authority of the ultimate source, the last verse of St. John's Gospel.

> Sunt autem et alia multa, quae fecit Jesus: quae si scribantur per singula, nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere posse eos, qui scribendi sunt, libros. (John XXI. 25)
>
> But there are many other things also which Jesus did: which if they were written in particular, neither the world itself were I think able to contain those books that should be written.[59]

Pseudo-Bonaventure's 'scripta sint' becomes 'writen in the gospell'. Love emphasises here, more explicitly than the source, the difference between that which is from the most authoritative part of the Bible and writings which are inauthentic, apocryphal, revelatory or inferential. An enclosed religious would know as a commonplace that not everything said or done by Christ was recorded in the Gospels. This is not necessarily so with 'simple soules', for whom a gospeller like John is the ideal authority for such a recognition of importance of the Saviour's 'non-gospel' words and works. Love's translating, and his intermittent comments on what he does, are consistent with this

policy, for example in his rendering of the chapter on '¶ What manere of leuyinge oure lord Jesu hadde/ and what he didde fro his xij^e ȝere vnto the bygynnynge of his xxx^ti ȝere' (pp.78-84), where it is stated that

> ...we fynde not expressed in scripture autentike what he didde/ or how he lyued/ and that semeth ful wonderfulle. What schulle we than suppose of hym in al thys tyme? Whether he was in so mochel idel that he did nouȝt/ or wroȝt nouȝt thing that were worthy to be writen and spoken of? God schylde! And on the tother side/ ȝif he didde and wrouȝt thing that were worthy to be writen and spoken/ why is it not writen as othere dedes of hym bene? Sothely it semeth merveylous and wonderfull. But neuertheles/ ȝif we wole here take good entent/ we schul mowe see that as in noȝt doynge he didde grete thynges and wonderfull. for there is noþthing of his dedes/ or tyme of his leuynge/ with oute misterie and edificacioun. But as he spake and wrouȝt vertuously in tyme/ so he helde his pees and rested and with drowe hym vertuously in tyme. Wherfore he that was souereyne maistre/ and came to teche vertues and schewe the trewe weie of euerlastynge lyf/ he bygan fro his ȝouthe to doo wonderful dedes/ and that in a wonderfull manere/ and vnknowen and that was neuere ere herde bifore: that is to seie/ schewynge hym self in that tyme as idel

and vnkunnynge and abiecte in the siȝt of men in manere as we schal seie aftir: not fully affermynge in this or othere that we mowe not openly proue by holy writt or doctryne appreved/ bot deuoutely ymagynynge to edificacioun and stirynge of deuocioun. as it was seide in the proheme of this book at the bigynnynge. And so we suppose that oure lorde Jesu in that tyme with drowe hym fro the companye and felawschippe of men/...(Mirrour pp.78-79; Peltier, p.531)

Crucial expansions of the Latin source are keyed into the *proheme* ('as it was seide in the proheme'), making more explicit the theoretical underpinning of Love's activity as regards intended audience. The Latin 'nihil enim factis ejus a mysterio vacat' is amplified into a consideration of edification as well as of mystery: 'for there is no thing of his dedes/ or tyme of his leuynge/ with oute misterie and edificacioun'. Likewise, 'edificacioun and stirynge of deuocioun', the Mirrour's humbler level of *utilitas*, has no equivalent in the source. The citation of 'the proheme' in the English work, though based on a similar citation in the source, has a greater effect than in the original, because it refers back not only to the discussion of imagination derived from Bonaventure's *prohemium* but also to the substantial materials which Love added on this subject to his *proheme*.

Later in the Mirrour Love translates from the Meditationes Vitae Christi a statement from St. Augustine which echoes the quotation from St. John. In this case, though, it applies to the matter of Jesus appearing to His mother, which 'the gospel specifieth not', but 'we mowe resonably and deuoutly trowe it/ as it is seide bifore' (p.283), for

> ...it is lickely that he/ the moste benigne lorde/ ofte sithes visited bothe his moder and his disciples and Mawdeleyn/ his special byloued...and that semeth that seynt Austyne felte where he seith thus of oure lordes bodily apperynge after his resurrexioun: Alle thinges ben not writen/ for his conuersacioun with hem was ofte sithes. (Mirrour, p.284; Peltier, p.623)

Medieval translators had the option of removing material from their sources. This saying from St Augustine reflects Love's priorities and is kept. The indefinite and non-affirmable multiplicity of Christ's appearances, unmentioned in the gospels, provides a spur to meditation, for it is the only way to gain access to them, however insufficient that access might be. Also, this class of meditation is fully sanctioned by a named Church Father, the next most powerful type of authority after Holy Writ itself.

Love recognises the role of reason as well as that of authority in provisional devout imagining, for example in the

chapter dealing with Jesus eating in the desert following his resisting the temptations of the devil.

> But here take we now good hede and byholde ynwardly oure lord Jesu etynge allone and the aungelles aboute hym/ and thynke we deuoutly be ymaginacioun tho thinges that folowen here after/ for thei ben ful faire and stiringe to deuocioun. And so firste we mowe aske what manere of mete it was that the aungeles serued hym of after that longe faste. Here of speketh not holy writt: wherfore we mowe ymagyne be resoun and ordeyne this worthy feste as vs liketh/ nouȝt by errour affermynge/ bot deuoutly ymagynynge and supposinge/ and that after the comoun kynde of the manhede. (pp.95-96)

Though the obedient simple souls' imaginations are closely supervised, they are expected to conjecture reasonable likelihoods and fill in the 'uncontentious' gaps left or implied by Scripture and commentary-tradition. To 'De hoc Scriptura non loquitur; possumus autem hoc victoriosum prandium sicut volumus, ordinare' (Peltier, pp. 539-40), Love adds that devout imagination and supposition fill the gaps left by Holy Writ, but that affirmation of what is imagined would be positive error. This Pseudo-Bonaventure does not say, because it is taken as read by the 'dilecta filia'. The Mirrour contains permission, more explicit and introductory than in the source, to speculate on the

food He ate. Yet again Love, in the very warp and woof of his translating, makes more explicit the theoretical rules of meditation shaping his and his audience's roles.

Not only the well-directed imagination supplements the gospels for purposes of devotion: there are also such approved legendary works as the Legenda Aurea.[80]

> ¶ Of this processe of apperynge to petre is noȝt expresse in the gospelle/ but thus by deuoute ymaginacioun I haue sette it here byfore other apperynges that folwen. for so it semeth that holy chirche holdeth/ as it is contened more pleynly in the legende of the resurreccioun. (Mirrour, p.272; Peltier, p.619)

As well as such legendary sources, the Mirrour, like the Speculum Devotorum, draws on revelations of holy people, well-suited to the intimacy of meditation:

> ¶ But now furthermore to speke of the blissed birthe of Jesu and of that clene and holy deliuerance of his dere moder marye/ as it is writen in party by reuelacioun of oure lady marye made here of to a deuowte man. (p.46)

Love omits that the revelation was made to one of 'our order', 'nostri ordinis' (Peltier, p.518), that is, a Franciscan, because it is not relevant to his audience. However, it is appropriate to mention him as a 'deuoute man'. Though the audience would not be capable of having their own personal revelations themselves they can still benefit from them. Imagination is not merely personal; it is shareable and may be translated from soul to soul.

The aim of the Meditationes Vitae Christi in its imaginations is to make a greater impression, 'ad majorem impressionem' (Peltier, p.511). Love, as his use of the *auctoritas* from St. John attests, has a slightly different emphasis, not to do with greater impressiveness but with the basic principle (with which his audience would be acquainted considerably less than the learned who would take it as read) that we are permitted to imagine that which we do not find written. Love indicates the basic correctness of his procedures to those uninitiated in meditation: justifying 'wherfore we mowen...ymagyne'. With similar propriety he takes care to add to the source that this should be done 'so that it be not aȝenst the byleue/ as seynt gregor and other doctoures seyne...' (p.9). Just as he went beyond his source by recourse to the authority of St. John, he does the same again, by overlaying his original with this invocation of the authority of Gregory and other doctors, albeit somewhat altering it in translating it.

> Nam et circa divinam Scripturam meditari, exponere et intelligere multifarie, prout expedire credimus, possumus, dummodo non sit contra veritatem vitae, justitiae et doctrinae, et non sit contra fidem et contra bonos mores. (Peltier, p.511)

> ...as seynt gregor and other doctoures seyne that holy writt may be expowned and vndirstonden in dyuers maneres and to dyuerse purposes/ so that it be not azenst the bileue or gode maneres. (p.9)

The very invoking of this *auctoritas* shows that Love sees meditation in terms of exposition and understanding. This is evidenced further in his exclusion of a vernacular word to translate the word 'meditari', which is subsumed under 'expowned and vndirstonden'. The rendering of 'multifarie' as 'in dyuers maneres and to dyuerse purposes' reveals a theoretical turn of mind. Rather than do the obvious thing and render the literal sense with one word, for instance an adverb like 'diversely', he opts for a more analytical exposition. 'Maneres' corresponds to diverse 'modi agendi', and 'dyuers purposes' corresponds to divers *intentiones* or *utilitates*. His rendering reflects his habitual literary selfconsciousness about the genre and its uses. The naturalness to Love of an academic literary sensibility is well evidenced in such a nice distinction, which can have no merely rhetorical function. Love translates 'contra veritatem vitae, justitiae et doctrinae, et non sit contra fidem et bonos

mores' as 'ȝenst the bileue or gode maneres', opting for only the last two items of the Latin, faith and good behaviour, the cultivation of which was the prime responsibilty of the office of the preacher. Love selectively renders what is uppermost in his 'entent' for his audience, who could not be expected to know about, judge or ponder too deeply on the truth of the life, justice or the niceties of doctrine, which are all comprised under 'bileue' anyway. So, that which is cut still has some presence in the English translation, albeit contained in a generality. All the audience need do is to be taught and to meditate as instructed. Here, Love is not going against the *sentence* of his source; rather he chooses *sentence* as it suits his purposes.

The Englishing of the immediately subsequent passage of the Latin is explicit and adapted to simple souls:

> Cum autem me narrantem invenies: «Ita dixit vel fecit Dominus Jesus,» seu alia, quae introducuntur; si illud per Scripturam probari non possit, non aliter accipias, quam devota meditatio exigit. (Peltier, p.511)

> And so what tyme or in what place in this book is writen/ that thus dide or thus spak oure lord Jesu or othere that ben spoken of/ and it mowe not be preued by holy writ/ or grounded in expresse seienge of holy

> doctoures/ it schal be taken none othere wise than as a devoute meditacioun that it myȝte be so spoken or doon. (p.9)

'Cum' is analytically expanded into 'what tyme and what place'. Love, showing his selfconsciousness in treating *materiae* of another, puts the second-person direct address of Pseudo-Bonaventure, 'me narrantem invenies', into the third person and indirect speech, 'this book is writen', referring to his source, i.e. 'this book', thereby avoiding mentioning himself with a personal pronoun. To scriptural proof ('per Scripturam probari') which alone is cited in the source Love adds proofs of the doctors of holy church, the interpreters of the faith and arbiters of authority. The motivation for this addition is a desire not to rule out that which, though it may not actually be declared expressly in the gospels, can be understood from them.

Again Love puts a second person instruction into the third person. 'Accipias' becomes 'it schal be taken'. There is a theoretical exactitude in the replacement of 'exigit' with 'it myȝte be'. Pseudo-Bonaventure emphasises the requirements of meditation for the experienced imagining subject who is already engaged in it. Love does not 'require' as such, he introduces and allows, hence the permissive and encouraging word 'myȝte', which states not only that the simple soul is allowed to meditate but that he or she actually has the capability to do so.

(vii) ¶ Nomen Libri: A 'Skilfull Clepynge'

In the next passage in the *proheme* Love justifies his new choice of title for the work.

The mirror metaphor occupied a central position in English Literature from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries.[61] After 'Liber' and 'Summa' it was easily the most used title for books: Herbert Grabes lists 385 vernacular and Latin examples from before 1500.[62] In this, 'the Age of the Mirror', the term 'Mirrour' or 'Speculum' was applied to all kinds of works literary, theological, historical, moral, encyclopaedic, exemplary, medical, and political.[63] But though these titles were popular and highly conventional, they were no 'dead metaphor', because writers often justified their use of the mirror as a fitting metaphor for their work. These renewals and re-orientations of an enormously variable image were taken up in prefaces and comments in the main body of a work, as is the case with Nicholas Love and the Speculum Devotorum. Such rejustification and re-orientation of title-metaphor did not happen often in non-mirror books.[64]

The mirror was used by writers to describe things as they truly are or were, or as they should be, or, in the case of meditative literature particularly, as they may be imagined, by the writer and, by extension, the reader. In religious, and especially meditative, literature the mirror was often used 'to

teach', as Ritamary Bradley points out, 'the whole mystical life, as a growth and an unfolding, and to contrast what one is and what one should be or will become'.[66] A constant source and refrain of English mystical writers was I Corinthians XIII.11-12.

> Quando autem factus sum vir, evacuavi quae erant parvuli. Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate: tunc facie ad faciem. Nunc cognosco ex parte: tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum.

This Biblical text served as an image for the spiritual maturing of the Christian soul as a progression from seeing through a glass darkly to seeing clearly face to face, and it influenced the representation in mystical literature of the movement of the soul from the lower to the higher levels of contemplation, and the transition from this mortal life to the vision of the divinity in the afterlife. Sometimes the mirror metaphor was linked to the meat/milk conceit deriving from Hebrews V, as drawn on by Love earlier in the *proheme* in his discussion of his preference for the 'mylke of lyȝte doctrine/ and not...sadde mete of grete clergie and of hiȝe contemplacioun' (p.8). This linkage derives ultimately from Clement of Alexandria, who associated the more advanced 'solid food' stage with seeing face to face.[67] In The Scale of Perfection Hilton juxtaposes milk/meat imagery with mirrors, writing that the second degree of contemplation is a feeding on milk and also a seeing through a glass, whereas the higher degree of contemplation is the illumination of the

intellect face to face in the joy of love, which is meat for men perfect in judgement of good and evil.[67] His mirror imagery is complicated somewhat when shortly afterwards in the same chapter (I.9) he refers to the higher, not the lower, contemplation as a vision of heavenly joy as seen in a mirror.[68] This reworking of the metaphor in a short passage exemplifies just how frequent, various and flexible it was. In Book II.30 the soul is declared to be a spiritual mirror in which God may be seen. In the following chapter the lower form of contemplative knowledge is described as milk, the higher as solid food.[69]. Bradley has drawn attention to further conflation of feeding and mirrors in Book II, where the purified soul feeds on Holy Scripture, which is paralleled with seeing the words and works of Jesus as images in a Pauline mirror.[70] In The Book of Privy Counselling the mirror of the soul is 'priuely fed in þi felyng only wiþ hym as he is; bot blyndly and in partie, as it may be here in þis liif, þat þi longing desire be euermore worching'.[71] Again, the darkening mirror of this imperfect life interposes, the soul being fed 'bot blyndly and in partie'. Given such a tradition of apposing meat/milk and mirrors it is natural that Love should not only choose milk as a central metaphor for his work, but also assign his translation a new mirror-title.

In mystical tradition Jesus was seen as a mirror of God, in which the redeemed shall see the humanity, the divinity or themselves, as in The Pricke of Conscience,[72] or, as 'þat swete myrrour & bodili blis of heuene', as Rolle writes in the

Meditations on the Passion, praying to be granted the likeness of Christ in his soul.[73] Also Christ time and again was seen as a mirror for His exemplary life on earth, which, unlike the divinity, was knowable to mortal humanity. In mirrors it was also possible to portray ghostly substances, albeit provisionally, in imagined bodily forms. Love draws on both the exemplary and the imaginatively anagogical aspects in his Mirrour. Like Hilton, he draws on the notion of the human soul as a passive receptacle for the images of Christ's humanity and divinity. Yet the soul is also active because it meditatively reconstructs the *vita*. In that the soul, itself receptive like a mirror, has images cast onto it by the imaginative narrative, it is as if the imagination were aspiring to the condition of perceiving rather than actively making images. The dutiful participation by the subject in the events seemingly happening in the soul is built on the subject's acceptance of a mise-en-scène which he/she feels that he/she is perceiving and experiencing, rather than constructing from an assembly of experience. In similar vein the Cloud of Unknowing likens the word of God, spoken and written, to a mirror.[74] A *Vita Christi* represents these words by dint of being derived from the divinely inspired gospels and from the words of God Incarnate quoted in them.

The central title-metaphor imposed on Love's new Englishing of the Meditationes Vitae Christi is made official in the *proheme* by a scholastically methodical exposition, in which the new name is dialectically justified and assembled. It is significant that

this exposition of the title is glossed in the margin '¶ Nomen libri', the appropriate category from the scholastic prologue. In the new title, Love seeks to embody the character and *sentence* of his work:

> ¶ And so for as moche as in this book ben conteyned dyuerse ymaginaciouns of cristes lyf✓ the which lyf fro the bygynnyng in to the endyng euermore blessed and with outen synne/ passynge alle lyues of alle othere seyntes/ as for a synguler prerogatyf may worthely be cleped the blessed lyf of Jesu Crist. The whiche also be cause that it may not be fully discryued as the lifes of other seyntis/ but in a maner of lickenes as the ymage of mannis face is schewed in the mirrour✓ therfore as for a pertynent name to this book it may skilfully be cleped the mirrour of the blessed lyf of Jesu crist. (pp.9-10)

This exposition of the title is the dialectical and rhetorical climax of the English materials, original to Love, which precede his actual translating of the Pseudo-Bonaventurean *proheme* itself. To help enforce his new title Love uses the language of dialectic, i.e. 'synguler prerogatyf' and 'skilfully'. The argument and syntax of this passage are only satisfactorily resolved by the announcement of the title, which is a distillation of, and micro-commentary on, the work that follows. At this point it may be recalled that the Catholicon defines

(chapter) headings ('capitula') as containing in brief some of the worthwhile teaching to be found in the chapter ('breviter capiant et contineant aliquam sententiam'). What Love is doing ties in with this: by a process of argument and definition his title does indeed capture and contain the *sententia* of the source. The 'lyf' is 'blessed' because it surpasses the lives of all other 'mere' saints: this recapitulates the main assertion of the beginning of Love's *proheme* that 'souereynly the wordes and the dedes written of oure lord Jesu crist' predominate amidst all other 'ensaumple of vertues and good lyuyng of holy men writen in bookes' (p.7). But Love is not satisfied to halt at calling his work 'the blessed lyf of Jesu Crist'. The term 'Mirrour' is applied because the life in its supreme excellence and incarnational mystery may not be fully described, unlike the lives of other saints. The mirror metaphor, then, is used, somewhat paradoxically, to advertise not only the veracity of the work to the *Vita*, but also its inevitable insufficiency. The work has an imaginative *modus agendi* of 'maner of lickenes', which is necessary because the divine nature of Christ and other ghostly substances integral to the *vita* cannot be represented unless by fleshly imaginations, which men can refract through what they 'kyndely knowe'. Also the *kynde knowynge* which constrains the imagination allows for only an insufficient notion to be implanted in the human soul, with all the incompleteness of the mirror-image instead of the complete reality. Another necessary imaginative insufficiency is the provisional sundering of the divinity from the humanity. In instructions prefacing the

commencement of the Passion the readers are told to to 'depart in manere' (p.216) the godhead from the manhood, but only for the time being, in order to be able to meditate on the passion, even though, it is asserted, it would be false to declare the manhood was ever at any time parted from the godhead.

Stallings (p.8) notes that 'particularly unusual' amongst other titles given to the Meditationes Vitae Christi is Speculum Vitae Christi, meaning here Love's translation. Grabes is rather misleading in the way he states that Speculum vite Christi is a variant of Meditationes Vitae Christi. [75] It is more accurate to say that Speculum vite Christi is an abbreviated translation into Latin of the English title chosen by Love, as witnessed in the Latin *explicits* on p.301 and p.324 of Powell's edition and in the *Attende lector* notice, which refers to 'istum librum speculi vitae christi', i.e. the Mirrour, and to the 'libro scripto...a venerabili doctore Bonauentura in latino de meditacione vite christi', i.e. the Meditationes Vitae Christi (p.6).

Love's consciousness of his new title-metaphor permeates the work. In the Die Martis section is an illuminating rendering relating to Love's chosen title. The original instructs the reader, after discussing Christ's meekness, to return to bearing in mind the doings and life of Lord Jesus, our mirror, as is the principal purpose of the work, and to show herself to be present to all as she has frequently been told to do before, and to consider the small but blessed Holy family:

> Et redeamus ad intuendos actus et vitam Domini Jesu speculi nostri, sicut est principale nostrum propositum. Igitur te omnibus praesentem exhibeas, ut saepius tibi dixi. Et considera illam super omnes alias benedictam familiam parvam... (Peltier, p.533)

Love translates the opening part of this passage with recourse to his own title: '¶ But now to goo aȝeyn to oure principal matere of the myrrour of the blessid lyf of oure lorde Jesu' (p.82). This recalls the Bonaventurean distinction, made in his quadripartite definition of academic literary roles (see above, pp.51-52) between principal matter, and ancillary matter such as homiletic and moralising materials, which are the stuff of commentary. The principal matter, for Love, is that which can be beheld in the mirror of the imagination. Love's translation, unlike the Latin, which only instructs the reader to consider the little family, strengthens the mirror metaphor by instructing the readership to behold: 'Byholde we there [i.e. in that 'lyf' which is itself a 'mirrour'] the maner of lyuynge of that blissed companye' (p.82).

To sum up, the choice of vernacular title for the Meditationes Vitae Christi is Love's most overarching *expositio sententie per aliam linguam*. For him, though the literal sense of the original title is 'meditaciouns of cristes lyf' (p.8), the *sentence* of the work is the Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ.

IV. FROM *PROHEMIUM* TO *PROHEME*

(i) The Life in the Heart

The appropriative act of re-entitling is not only a rhetorical closure; it also marks the opening of the translating proper of the Pseudo-Bonaventurean *prohemium*. That the *proheme* can now move on into the Latin source is possible because Love has thoroughly prepared his audience for it. Such preparation is itself an act of translation. The problems posed by the Meditationes Vitae Christi being written to an enclosed religious woman are now alleviated. And so, acknowledging and crossing the boundary between his own prefatory materials and those of the *auctor*, Love announces responsibly that his main translating effort is about to commence:

> Furthermore forto speke of the prophitable mater of this book. The forsaide clerk bonauenture/ spekynge to the womman forseide/ in his proheme byginneth in this manere sentence. (p.10)

Though the textual 'join' is highlighted Love presents his first encounter with the source not so much in terms of starting to translate it but in terms of further discussion of its profitable matter, leading on naturally from his own immediately preceding materials. His translating of this opening reflects his wider

priorities for the Mirrour, consistent with his previously stated aims.

> Inter alia virtutum et laudum praeconia de sanctissima virgine Caecilia legitur, quod Evangelium Christi absconditum semper portabat in pectore.
>
> (Peltier, p.510)

> Among other vertues commendynges of the holy virgyne Cecile it is writen that sche bare alwey the gospell of crist hyd in hir breste... (p.10)

The adjustments made in translating may seem minor, but they are significant. 'Virtutum et laudum praeconia', literally 'commendations of virtues and of praises' is pleonastic. Love cuts 'laudum', simplifying the text to 'virtuous commendings' ('vertues commendynges'). 'Legitur', 'it is read', which could have been translated literally, or with something like 'we read' or 'men read', is adjusted to 'it is writen', presumably because it sounds more authoritative. Otherwise, Love translates the literal sense quite closely, which in itself suggests that any alterations of the source are purposeful. However, at this point it is worth entering a general *caveat* that some apparent changes to a source may reflect faithful translation of error or variation in the exemplar. Explicit adaptation of larger passages can be proved when there is the supporting evidence of the marginal '¶N', but that only covers major additions, not

smaller passages or details. To be reasonably sure that a translator is active in modifying his source in smaller passages, one has to be certain that all the words of the source have met with a response in the translation. Purposeful alteration does seem probable in the description of St Cecilia bearing in her heart the gospel of Christ:

Quod sic intelligi debere videtur, quod ipsa de vita Domini Jesu in Evangelio tradita, quaedam sibi devotiora praeelegerat, in quibus meditabatur die ac nocte, corde puro et integro, attentione praecipua et ferventi, et cum plena circulatione reincipiens iterum et dulci ac suavi gustu ruminans, ea in arcano pectoris sui collocabat. (Peltier, p.510)

...that may be vnderstonde that of the blessed lyf of oure lord Jesu crist writen in the gospell sche ches certeyne parties moste deuoute/ in the whiche sche sette hir meditacioun and hir thouȝt nyȝt and day with a clene and hole herte. And whan sche had so fully al the manere of his lyf ouer gone/ sche bygan aȝeyne: and so with a likynge and swete tast goostly schewynge in that manere the gospel of crist/ sche sette and bare it euere in the priuete of her brest. (p.10)

Again, Love opts for 'written' as a non-literal rendering of a Latin term denoting literary production, this time 'tradita'. Love's addition of the word 'blessed' reflects his previous discussion of the *nomen libri*. 'Devotiora' is expanded to 'certeyne parties moste deuoute'. True, English has no verbal equivalent '*deuouters', but the concept of the more devout parts which this Latin word expresses could be rendered in the vernacular adequately by periphrasis of the literal sense. However, Love renders this comparative with a superlative-intensitive, 'moste deuoute'. The source indicates that some parts of the gospel are more devout than others: 'moste deuoute', perhaps, is intended to avoid such comparison, for all parts of the gospel are most devout. 'Meditabatur', is doubleted with 'sette hir meditacioun and hir thouȝt'. Meditation is a form of thought, as is witnessed by the constant references in devotional literature to 'thinking on the passion of Our Lord' and by the passage on the Cloud in which 'Meditacion' is expounded as 'þinkyng' with reason being regarded as the eye of the soul. [74] But the two elements of this doublet are not exactly synonymous. 'Thoþt' has a particular appropriateness for Love's audience, who might not be able to attain and sustain some aspects of formal meditation but who were capable of a less concentrated, less enhanced 'thinking'. It has also the attraction of being a plain term, more acceptable and familiar to them.

'Cum plena circulatione' is expanded with a finite verb into 'and when sche had so fully al the manere of his lyf ouer gone'.

'Al the manere of his lyf', possibly a response to 'circulatione', stresses that Cecile too, in treating the life of Christ by the process of meditation, has a *modus agendi* for gospel *materia*, as must all translators or readers. There is further simplification of the structure of the Latin sentence with the rendering of 'reincipiens' with another finite verb, 'sche bygan aȝeyne'. 'Ruminans', i.e. ruminating in meditation, is translated intriguingly as 'goostly schewynge in that manere the gospel of crist'. Love adds that which is being ruminated, i.e. the gospel. 'Schewynge' might have read or sounded to the original audience as a pun on 'chewing' and 'showing', which means 'expounding' (as in the prologue to the Stanzaic Life of Christ (ll.1-32)): meditation is ghostly exposition. 'Chewing', however, is a more accurate literal translation of 'ruminans'. In that the Mirrour was a book to be heard, there is potential for this (mis)construction, even though it might not have been intended. 'Collocabat' is doubleted 'sette and bare'. The added sense of carrying round the life emphasises the permanency of the *vita* in her heart.

(ii) 'Tria Vtilia Ex Vita Christi' I

Pseudo-Bonaventure declares that having the *vita* in the heart can lead to a higher level of meditation. Love does not

emphasise the bringing of the reader to a higher degree of contemplation, but to the highest degree of good living.

> Simile tibi suadeo faciendum. Super omnia namque inter spiritualis exercitii studia, hoc magis necessarium magisque proficuum credo, et quod ad celsiorem gradum perducere possit. (Peltier, p.510)

In the same manere I counseile that thou doo. For among alle gostly exercises I leue that this is most necessarye and most profitable. and that may brynge to the hiȝest degre of good lyuynge/ that stant specially in perfite despisynge of the world/ in pacience suffrynge of aduersitees/ and in encres and in getyng of vertues. (p.10)

'Faciendum' is resolved into 'that thou doo': English has no equivalent to the Latin construction: nevertheless the meaning remains the same. Love's adjustment of 'celsiorem gradum' to 'hiȝest degre of good lyuynge' smacks more of the milk of doctrine and good Christian behaviour on this earth than the meat of contemplation. By retaining the words 'hiȝest degre', which he need not have retained in order to stress the concept of good living, Love allusively exploits and intensifies the prestige status of devotional and contemplative terminology whilst actually suppressing reference to higher contemplation. The emphasis on good living orients the text into the next passage,

which deals with 'tria vtilia ex vita christi', as the marginal gloss in the Mirrour puts it (p.10). These three 'vtilia' are anticipated in summary by the addition of the words 'perfite despisynge of the world/ in pacience suffrynge of aduersitees and in encres and in getyng of vertues'. The passage deals with the moral puissance of the life of Christ:

> Nusquam enim invenies, ubi sic doceri possis contra vana blandimenta et caduca, contra tribulationes et adversa, contra hostium tentamenta et vitia, sicut in vita Domini Jesu, quae fuit absque omni defectu perfectissima. (Peltier, p.510)

> For sothely thou schalt neuere fynde where man may so perfiȝtely may be tauȝt: First forto stable his herte a.enst vanytees and disceyuable likynges of the world/ also to strengthe hym amonge tribulaciouns and aduersitees/ and furthermore to be kept fro vices and to getynge of vertues/ as in the blissed lyf of oure lord Jesu/ the whiche was euere with oute defauȝte moste perfyte. (pp.10-11)

Whereas the Latin itemises the undesirable things against ('contra') which the life of Christ teaches, the Mirrour, also acknowledging the teaching function, makes more of dividing them into a palpable trio with the added adverbs 'first...also...furthermore'. This triple sequence is buttressed

by marginal glossing of the ensuing discussion with '¶ Primum', '¶ Secundum' and ' ¶ Tercium' (p.11). Each of the three is accorded an added verb connoting stability and protection, 'stable', 'strengthe' and 'kept fro'. The first English infinitive, 'forto stable', is connected to 'azenste', a close translation of 'contra', but the second, 'to strengthe', is attached to the preposition 'amonge', the third, 'to be kept' being put with 'fro' and 'to'. More emphatic than the source, this adverbially re-inforced division, together with its variation of verbs and prepositions, lends to a greater rhetorical stress on the comprehensively adaptable power of the life of Christ in all situations. Also, the Latin word 'vitia', expanded to 'fro vices and to getynge of vertues' in line with the additional anticipatory parallel in the previous sentence, 'in getyng of vertues', advertises a positively aggrandising as well as a defensive use of the *vita*. The 'fro'/'to' antithesis, not in the original either, further enhances not only this sense of comprehensive power, but also the particular stress on morality, to which the Mirrour gives a higher profile than the source does. The word 'vita', rendered 'blessed lyf', reflects once more part of the new title chosen for the work.

Love's next act as a translator is to cut material relating to the education of the meditating soul, which will so gain in familiarity, confidence and love that it will spurn other things, and be instructed in what, and what not, to do:

Ex frequenti enim et assueta meditatione vitae ipsius adducitur anima in quamdam familiaritatem, confidentiam et amorem ipsius, ita quod alia vilipendit et contemnit. Insuper fortificatur et instruitur quid facere, quidve fugere debeat. (Peltier, p.510)

The rationale for cutting this may be that it has little new to offer and that, being something of an advertisement, it interrupts the flow of the discourse on the 'tria vtilia'. The only part of this 'cut' passage preserved in translation, 'frequenti enim et assueta' appears as a doublet, rendering 'jugis' in the next sentence in a discussion of the first of the 'vtilia' of the Life of Christ, the stabilising of the soul in this vain world:

> Dico primo quod jugis meditatio vitae Domini Jesu roborat et stabilit mentem contra vana et caduca. (Peltier, p.510)

> First/ I seie that besy meditacioun and customable of the blessid lyf of Jesu stableth the soule and the herte aȝenst vanitees and disceyuable likynges of the world. (p.11)

It is striking that Love should pick up on a collocation from the Latin for a fundamental recasting and redirecting of the source.

Simple souls cannot be continual ('jugis') in meditation. The best they are likely to do is to make meditation a good and frequent habit, 'besy and customable'. The Cloud of Unknowing makes a similar distinction, recognising people who 'ben ful graciously disposid, not contynowely as it is propre to verrey contemplatyues, bot þan & þan'. [77] Again 'vitae' is described with the English adjective 'blessid'. 'Caduca' ('fleeting/transitory things') is not rendered literally, but is extrapolated to 'disceyuable likynges of the world' because the attractions and pleasures of this world deceive in their transience. To put faith in them is to be deceived.

(iii) 'Tria Vtilia Ex Vita Christi' II: Cecile

The stabilising of the soul is illustrated by the example of the marriage ceremony of St. Cecilia, the account of it being closely translated:

> ...ut patet in praedicta beata Caecilia, quae ita cor suum repleverat de vita Christi, quod in ipsam vana intrare non poterant: unde in pompa nuptiarum existens, ubi tot vana geruntur, cantantibus organis, ipsa stabili corde soli Deo vacabat, dicens: « Fiat, Domine, cor meum, et corpus meum immaculatum, ut non confundar. » (Peltier, p.510)

> This is opounly schewed in the blessid virgyne Cecile/ bifore nempned/ whan sche filled so fully hir herte of the lyf of Crist/ that vanytees of the world myȝt not entre in to hir. For in all the grete pompe of the wedding/ where so many vanitees ben vsed/ whan the orgenes blewen and songen/ sche sette hir herte stabely in god/ seinge and preyenge: Lord! be my herte and my body clene and not defoiled/ so that I be not confounded. (p.11)

'Vana' is clarified as 'vanytees of the world'. Love is also more particular than the original about the mode of operation of organs. 'Organis' in Latin and 'orgenes' in Middle English can refer more generally to many musical instruments and even melodies, but Love seems to have in mind a wind instrument, for 'cantantibus' becomes the doublet 'blewen and songen'. The literal sense of the Latin, that of organs singing, is represented in the vernacular by a fuller picture of organs as blowing ('blewen'), doubtless with vanity and pride.

Another doublet is worthy of comment. Adding the idea of praying (which is implicit in the original) to 'dicens', by translating it 'seienge and prayenge' re-inforces the essential idea of the private prayerfulness of Cecile's address to God amidst the noisy useless public vanities of the wedding. The rhyme makes for an ornamental effect, drawing attention by its palpable artificiality to the deliberately well-prepared

conventional sententiousness of the saint's own words. Standing out amidst and above the rest of the prose it shifts the words of the saint into an elevated key. But there is more to these two doublets, 'blewen and songen' and 'seienge and prayenge', than two separate *ad hoc* choices for Englishing two different words. Between these two foregrounded additions, noticeable as rhetorical pairings to the reader or hearer unacquainted with the source, there is an antithesis: Cecile's meaningful words of prayer delivered in a speaking voice oppose the vain puffing and singing of the organ. The *ipsissima verba* of the saint are re-ordered into a more natural English word order, 'fiat, Domine' becoming 'Lord! be'. Love's doubleting of 'immaculatum' as 'clene and not defoiled' brings out not only a notion of a positive virtue of cleanness, but opens up more the aspect of the dire possibility in this situation of privation of virginity and defilement.

(iv) 'Tria Vtilia Ex Vita Christi' III: The Translation of Martyrs: Sacrificing Style and Saving *Sentence*

Love's concentration on the more rudimentary aspects of the *sentence* of the Meditationes Vitae Christi has an effect on the way Love translates. Normally, suppression of unsuitable elements of the original is effected by simple cutting as part and parcel of the role of the compiler as he shapes and re-shapes

the *forma tractatus*. However, in the next example is an excision of the source in the realm of style and manner of proceeding, i.e. *modus agendi/forma tractandi*. Here Love somewhat tones down the style of the source without jeopardising the *sentence* which it promotes. In the passage below, which deals with the joyous fortitude of martyrs thinking amidst their tortures on the wounds of Christ, the Pseudo-Bonaventurean style is sacrificed in order to preserve and clarifying it for *symple soules*.

> Secundo fortificat contra tribulationes et adversa, ut patet in Martyribus. Circa quod sic dicit Bernardus: « Inde tolerantia martyrii provenit, quod in Christi vulneribus tota devotione versetur, et jugi meditatione demoretur. In illis stat martyr tripudians et triumphans, toto licet lacerato corpore, et rimante latera ferro. Ubi ergo tunc anima Martyris? Nempe in vulneribus Jesu, et vulneribus nimirum patentibus ad introeundum. Si in suis esset visceribus, scrutans ea, ferrum profecto sentiret, dolorem non ferret, succumberet et negaret. » Hucusque Bernardus. (Peltier, p.510)

> ¶ Also as vnto the secounde. Wherof han martires her strengthe aȝenst dyuerce tourmentis/ bot/ as seynt Bernard seith/ in that they setten all her herte and deuocioun in the passioun and woundes of criste? For what tyme the martir stant with al the

body to rent/ and neuertheless he is ioyful and glad in alle his peyne/ where trowest is than his soule and his herte? Sothely in the woundes of Jesu. 3e/ the woundes not closed/ bot open and wyde to entre ynne: and elles he schulde fele the harde yren and not mowe bere the peyne and sorwe/ bot sone faile and denye god. (p.11)

Note first of all that Love, economically and without harming the meaning, does not repeat, unlike his source, what 'the secounde' use of the life of Christ actually is. What this second use is becomes obvious straight away in the question immediately following, drawn from St. Bernard. Pseudo-Bonaventure signals that he is quoting St. Bernard by preceding the actual quotation with 'circa quod sic dicit Bernardus'. Love does not do this; rather he launches into a rendering of Bernard's question without the prefatory citation: it is only when he gets to the pivotal word 'bot', which signals the start of the solution, that the name of St. Bernard is mentioned. Love's rendering is less pedestrian and more incisive than the original. It is more effective to weigh in with citation of the *auctor* at the turning-point of the sentence.

Whereas the Latin states that martyrs turn all their devotion and *continual* meditation onto the wounds of Christ, 'tota devotione...et jugi meditatione', Love, as he has done before, replaces this with the more earthly, less mystical, 'all her

herte and deuocioun', thereby avoiding any oddness that his relatively simple intended audience might have felt at the idea of physically projecting their *affectus* into Christ's wounds, 'vulneribus' being rendered by the extrapolatory English doublet 'passioun and woundes', which clarifies the idea of sympathizing with Christ's suffering in His Manhood. Pseudo-Bonaventure did not need such simplification because his 'dilecta filia' would have been used to the language and idioms of devotion, i.e. would have known that 'vulneribus' would mean 'passion'.

Love drops the notion of *continual* meditation, 'jugi meditatione', which would be impractical for his simple souls and laity. Elsewhere in the Mirrour Love renders this Latin continuity with the English 'besy and customable' (see above, p.253), i.e. meditation should be fitted habitually into everyday life. Perhaps Love may also have felt that to claim that martyrs spent *all* their time meditating on the wounds of Christ might sound improbable or even excessive to his audience, and might inculcate a false notion that meditation was effective only if it were continual.

In similar vein 'tripudians et triumphans' ('dancing and triumphing'), is too exotic and conceitful for Love's purposes, and is toned down with 'ioyful and glad', the essence of martyr-psychology and spirituality at the heart of the *sentence* of St. Bernard's point. Conjuring up the picture of a St. Bartholomew,

St. Lawrence, or St. Stephen dancing would not necessarily help the *sentence* and is to be regarded as affective imagery.

Pseudo-Bonaventure's wordplay on 'ferrum' ('iron') and 'ferret' ('bears') is perhaps responded to by Love's wordplay on 'feel'and 'faile'. Love translates 'anima martyris' as 'his soule and his herte', stressing not just the idea of the soul but also, with the addition of the word 'herte', the affective sympathy of the martyr's (and therefore the reader's) meditation: that is what is significant about the flight of the soul into the holy wounds, and this is what it 'really means' for Love's audience. 'Martyris' is twice rendered by the use of the possessive pronoun 'his': the words may be different but they unequivocally denote the same thing. Love felt probably that to repeat the noun would be repetition without purpose, stylisically undesirable. However, it should be said that considerations of style are secondary to those of meaning: this sort of adjustment is permissible because in no way does it interfere with the *sentence*. In this passage generally, the tone of Love's translation is more emphatic than the original. For example, he interjects with an emphatic '3e', and amplifies Pseudo-Bonaventure's 'nimirum patentibus ad introeundum' into a rhetorical antithesis , 'not closed but open and wyde to entre ynne.'

Notable in this passage are three other features. Firstly the rendering of 'dolorem' as the doublet 'sorwe and peyne' catches

the semantic range of the Latin word's mental and physical connotations. Secondly, in translating 'succumberet' by 'sone faile' the addition of the word 'sone' shows the immediacy of the intolerability of pain and sorrow at the instant at which the soul ceases to sympathise with Christ's Passion. Finally, 'Hucusque Bernardus' is dropped in the English as unnecessary repetition, interruptive to the flow of the prose, for Bernard's name has already been cited.

This passage on martyrs shows that not only could a medieval translator keep faith with his audience by cutting out material, he could also render an *expositio sententie* for them by altering the source stylistically level too: we have a combinaton both methods in this passage.

A further gauge, this time non-stylistic, of Love's intention of reshaping his source for a wider audience is the way in which, later in the same passage, he translates Pseudo-Bonaventura's commendatory words on the patience of those who are 'non solum martyres, sed et confessores in tribulationibus' (Peltier, p.510). To the Latin Love adds the patience of virgins and all righteous people: 'not onliche martires/ bot also confessoures/ virgynes/ and alle that lyuen riȝtwisly' (p.11). The breadth of intended audience is indicated by the grouping together of confessors, virgins and the righteous. Reference to the exemplary patience of St. Francis and St. Clare, which is of limited use for a general audience, is also suppressed.

(v) 'Tria Vtilia Ex Vita Christi' IV: Vices and Virtues

The third use of the life of Christ is its profitability with regard to vices and virtues.

> Tertio dico, quod docet circa gerenda, ut nec hostes nec vitia irruere vel fallere possint; hoc ideo, quia perfectio virtutum repetitur ibidem. (Peltier, p.510)

> ¶ And as to the thridde point: that it kepeth fro vices and disposeth souereynly to getynge of vertues preveth wel in that the perfectioun of alle vertues is founden in cristes lyf. (p.11)

'Irruere vel fallere', 'attack or deceive' is not translated at all. Love simplifies the source in translating by dealing only with the avoiding of vices and the gaining of virtues, the latter of which, 'the getynge of vertues', is not in the original. This is not the first time that Love has added the notion of virtues to a reference to vices in the source (Mirrour, p.10; Peltier, p.510). 'Hostes' is dropped by Love as he did in the preliminary summary of the three benefits of the life of Christ earlier.

The next portion of this passage advertises exemplary virtues to be found in the life of Christ.

Ubi enim virtutes excelsae paupertatis, eximiae humilitatis, profundae sapientiae, orationis, mansuetudinis, obedientiae, patientiae, caeterarumque virtutum exempla et doctrinam sic invenies, sicut in vita Domini virtutum? (Peltier, p.510)

> For where schalt thow fynde so open ensample and doctrine of souereyn charite/ of perfite pouerte/ of profunde mekenes/ of pacience and other vertues as in the blessed lyf of Jesu Crist? (pp.11-12)

The original presents a series of virtues dominated by those associated with the enclosed life: poverty, humility, wisdom, prayer, meekness. obedience, patience, plus other non-specified virtues. The first virtue mentioned by Love,'charite', would appear not to be an addition because it is reasonable to assume it was in his source already, for the Italian version of the Meditationes Vitae Christi, as represented in BN MS Ital. 115, includes at this point 'examples and teachings of charity', though it does not declare charity to be 'souereyn'. [78] Love makes a positive decision to retain charity, but to omit humility, wisdom, prayer and obedience. However, these omissions are as good as covered by the virtues that do appear in the English text. Love excludes wisdom ('profundae sapientiae'), presumably because it was thought to be beyond the capacity of simple souls to imitate. Prayer ('orationis') is more for the

enclosed religious. Obedience ('obedientiae') is incorporated in 'mekenes' ('mansuetudinis'). In any case, all omitted virtues fall under the catch-all 'other vertues'.

Love, self-aggrandisingly echoing his chosen title, translates 'vita Domini virtutum' as 'the blessed lyf of Jesu Crist'. This is all the more permissible because he includes the term 'lord of vertues', rendering 'Domino virtutum', later in the same paragraph; so the concept is not lost to the Mirrour.

> De hoc sic breviter ait Bernardus: « Incassum proinde quis laborat in acquisitione virtutum, si aliunde eas sperandas putet, quam a Domino virtutum: cujus doctrina, seminarium prudentiae; cujus misericordia, opus justitiae, cujus vita, speculum temperantiae; cujus mors insigne est fortitudinis. » Hucusque Bernardus. (Peltier, p.510)

> Herfore seith seynt Bernard: that he trauailleth in vayne about the getynge of vertues who so hopeth to fynde hem owhere bot in the lorde of vertues/ whos lyf is the mirrour of temperaunce and alle othere vertues. Lo here grete comforte and goostly profiȝte in deuouȝt contemplacioun of cristes blessid lyf. (p.12)

Love has enough in his text already to show the virtues of Christ to be mighty and manifold. This is probably why he does not feel the need to follow either the source or theological and literary tradition by invoking the four cardinal virtues and relating them to Christ. Instead he ignores the fourfold schema and translates only that element of it which centrally interests him, the reference to *vita* itself, mentioned suitably as a mirror. i.e. 'cujus vita, speculum temperantiae'. Perhaps the echo of his own new English *nomen libri* ('mirrour of temperaunce') attracted him to single out these few words. In any case, it provides further authority for his vernacular title. It is improbable that there was a particular desire to emphasise temperance above all the virtues which are omitted: the word 'temperaunce' is merely the unsuppressed inert residue of the original, to which is added for safety a catch-all, not in the original, 'and alle othere vertues', to cover the untranslated virtues. The address to the reader, 'lo here grete comforte and goostly profiȝte in deuouȝt contemplacioun of cristes blessid lyf', leading on naturally from the preceding exposition of virtues and additional to the source, reasserts and recapitulates the general *utilitas* of the Life of Christ.

(vi) The *Manere of Meditacioun*

Just as important as knowing how to render the source is deciding what material from the original should not be presented

to the meditating eye of the audience. For instance, Love omits a passage in the *prohemium* instructing the 'dilecta filia' in the gaining of mystical independence in her contemplating, in which she will be able to discern the false from the true (p.510). This level is not suitable for Love's audience. It is not for them to know the profound mysteries of God, 'profunda Dei mysteria cognovere'. Also cut, because it is of little use to Love's *entent*, is the subsequent Latin material stating that St. Francis perfected himself in Christ by meditation, as is the discussion which holds that meditating on Christ's life leads to higher contemplation and unction (pp.510-11). Also untranslated is Pseudo-Bonaventure's extended modesty topos regarding the efficacy of the 'sermo rudis' which penetrates to the heart, unlike the sophisticated sermon which pleases only the ear (p.511). Moreover, there is no use for the hope expressed in the original that the reader will leave behind Pseudo-Bonaventure as master and converse directly with Jesus Christ, Who, as it were, moves from being *materia* to *magister* (p.511). At no point in the Mirrour are the simple souls left unguided by the sacerdotal hand. Cutting is as much part of the translator's choices and roles as is literalism or amplification, and indicates a particularly positive type of decision, more so than an uncritical or passive toleration of materials which the translator may feel to be extraneous to his particular purposes.

Most of the remaining material of the Latin *prohemium*, however, is used by Love in some way. The immediately subsequent

portion of Latin, dealing with the relationship between Scripture and meditation and the freedom to engage in diverse imaginations, has already been incorporated in an earlier part of the English *proheme*.

Pseudo-Bonaventure is particular in his instructions about meditative technique. The reader is to imagine herself present, in all her senses, to all that is said and done. This *manere* pertains equally to Love's audience.

> Tu autem, si ex his fructum sumere cupis, ita te praesentem exhibeas his quae per Dominum Jesum dicta et facta narrantur, ac si tuis auribus audires et oculis ea videres, toto mentis affectu diligenter, delectabiliter et morose, omnibus aliis curis et sollicitudinibus tunc omissis. (Peltier, p.511)

> Wherfore thou that coueytest to fele truly the fruyte of this book/ thou moste with al thy thouȝt and al thyn entente in that manere make the in thy soule present to tho thynges that ben here writen/ seide/ or done of oure lord Jesu✓ and that besily/ likyngly/ and abidynge✓ as theyh thou herdest hem with thy bodily eeres/ or seie hem with thyne eȝen done✓ pyttynge awey for the tyme and leuynge alle othere occupaciouns and besynesses. (p.12)

Contrary to previous practice Love preserves the original's second person address to the reader. 'Fructum ex his' is rendered 'fruyte of this book'. By mentioning a 'book' Love is reminding us perhaps that his 'matere' is not just that of the *Vita* but also that of a particular source. His Englishing of 'te praesentem exhibeas' alludes to the prologue paradigm, adding 'entent' (*intentio*), which in this case refers to the affective and moral dimensions of intent. The whole intention must be concentrated on the meditation for efficacy and ethical validity. 'In that manere' refers to the *modus agendi/forma tractandi* of imagination, the procedure which is the means to the *entent* of gaining the 'fruyte', i.e. *utilitas*.

Whereas the source expects its audience to show themselves present, the Mirrour requires its readers only to make themselves present: 'make the in thy soule present'. This is so because to show herself present in the mise-en-scène assumes that the imagining subject makes herself a palpable object of perception in her own meditation. Just as Love cut out earlier the idea of the imagined Christ eventually replacing the author as guide, so too does he have a less enhanced intention for his simple souls, who, he intends, should watch sympathetically what is put into the imagination by the narrative. However, Love does not exclude his readers from participation, for they are asked to become involved in some of the action later in the book.

'Dicta et facta' is interestingly expanded to 'writen/ seide/ or done' in consideration of an English audience including hearers. The use, of the adjective 'bodily' in the translation of 'tuis auribus' by 'thy bodily eeres', completes more emphatically an added body versus soul antithesis, for it balances the addition of the words 'in thy soule' inserted into the rendering of 'te praesentem exhibeas'. Thus Love is more specific than the source that meditation, though it happens in the soul, is to be taken as if it were physical bodily experience.

'Curis et sollicitudinibus', literally 'cares and worries/duties', is rendered by the somewhat more markedly secular 'occupaciouns and besynesses', the temporal everyday necessities like work, which are the most likely distractions for Love's audience. This recalls Love's earlier alteration of the Latin source's expectation of continual meditation into an approval of a 'besy...and customable' habit (p.11).

(vii) *Forma Tractatus* and the Power of '¶ N'

The Latin prologue then bids the 'dilecta filia' to receive the book, which was made for the benefit of reader and also author. Love transposes his own version of this to the very end of his *proheme*. The source then describes the contents of the

first chapter following, a description which is, intriguingly, accorded a marginal '¶N' in the Mirrour as if the passage were Love's own words, which it is not.

> Initium de incarnatione sumendum est, sed quaedam ipsam praecessisse meditari possumus, tam in coelis circa Deum et angelos suos beatissimos, quam in terris circa Virginem gloriosissimam, quae mihi videntur primitus explicanda. Et ideo de ipsis videamus. (Peltier, p.511)

> ¶ And though it so be that the bigynnynge of the matere of this book/ that is the blessid lyf of Jesu crist/ be at his Incarnacioun:✓ neuertheles we mowe firste deuoutliche ymagine and thenke somme thinges done byfore touching god and his aungels in heuene:✓ and also as anemptes the blessid virgyne/ oure lady seynte marye/ in erthe: of the whiche is to bigynne. (p.12)

If this attribution is no mere error but deliberate and conscious, it would indicate that Love was purposefully appropriating the words of the source. What is the justification for Love making these words his own? As a comment on the *forma tractatus* rather than on the *sentence*, the passage in both source and translation resembles a compiler's statement. It could be here that Love is taking his role as compiler to its

logical conclusion by assuming all the responsibility and authority for the whole *forma tractatus* (with which he is, in general, considerably free), appropriating under his own *persona* the words of the source when they comment on the *forma tractatus*. The '¶N' is a sign of responsibility, not plagiarism, reflecting a valid *auctoritas compilatoris*.

Love describes how the book may be used according to the days of the week, and times of the Church Year. The source for this is not in the *prohemium* but Chapter 100 of the original:

> Meditationes vero sic divide, ut die Lunae incipiens, procurras usque ad fugam Domini in Aegyptum. Et eo ibi dimisso, die Martis, pro eo rediens, mediteris usque ad apertionem libri in synagoga; die Mercurii exinde, usque in ministerium Mariae et Marthae; die Jovis abinde, usque ad passionem; die Veneris et Sabbati, usque ad resurrectionem; die vero Dominica, ipsam resurrectionem, et usque in finem; et sic per singulas hebdomodas facias, ut ipsa meditationes tibi reddas familiares. (Peltier, p.629)

> And for also moche as this book is deuyded and departed in vij parties/ after vij daies of the weke: euery day one party or somme therof to ben had in contemplacioun of hem that han therto desire and deuocioun. Therfore at the Moneday/ as the firste

> workeday of the weke/ bygynneth this gostly werk/ tellynge firste of the deuoute instaunce and desire of the holy aungelis in heuene for manis restorynge and his saluacioun✓ to stire man amonge other that day specially to worschippe hem✓ as holy chirche the same day maketh special mynde of hem. Also not oneliche the mater of this book is pertynent and profitable to be had in contemplacioun the forseide dayes to hem that wollen and mowen/ bot also as it longeth to the tymes of the ȝere: as in aduent/ to rede and deuoutly haue in mynde fro the bygynnynge in to the natiuite of oure lord Jesu✓ and thereafter in that holy feste of cristemasse✓ and so forth of othere matires/ as holy chirche maketh mynde of hem in tyme of ȝere. (pp. 12-13)

It is fitting that an instruction indicating the flexibility of *ordinatio* is itself an example of the same. These instructions are much more effective and likely to be applied transposed to a position before, not after, the meditations themselves. Love does not follow closely the Latin wording and the detailed instructions of this passage, but in carrying out those very instructions in what he actually does with his own *ordinatio*, his need to put such instructions in the *proheme* becomes superfluous. Going beyond textual *expositio sententie*, but still according with the *auctor*, he renders the sentence of the original in action, not just words.

The *proheme* ends with a petition to the reader to pray for the translator and the *auctor*, restating that Love's *entent* was to translate a book into English for simple and devout souls. This modifies the petition at the end of the Latin *prohemium*:

> Quare te precor, dilecta filia, ut hunc laborem meum, quem ad laudem Domini Jesu, et tuum profectum, et meam utilitatem assumpsi, laetanter suscipias; et laetantius, devotius et sollicitius te exerceas in eodem. (Peltier, p.511)

> And among othere who so redeth or hereth this book/ felynge eny goostly swetnes of grace there thoruȝ/ preie he for charitie specialy for the auctour and the drawere out therof/ as it is writen here in Englisshe to the profyte of symple and deuout soules/ as it was seide byfore. And thus endeth the proheme. (p.13)

'Dilecta filia' is widened in translation to 'all who so redeth or hereth this book'. Pseudo-Bonaventure's 'utilitatem' is all the merit he gets from God for accomplishing the work. The equivalent of this in the English is the prayers of the audience and readership, which would also bring the writer closer to God. Whereas the original stresses the performance of the authorial act, the translator, conscious of a *duplex causa efficiens* and the concomitant responsibility, wishes for benefits for himself

and for the 'auctor' from the devotion stirred in his audience. 'Tuum profectum', relating to the original reader, is changed to 'writen here in Englisshe to the profyte of symple and deuout soules', a rendering which takes into consideration the *modus agendi* of translation because it is inseparable from his intent for his audience's 'profyte'.

All that remains for Love to do is to signpost the first chapter. He has already summarised its basic contents, so he does not go into any further detail about subject matter, confining himself to '...and after foloweth the contemplacioun for Moneday in the firste party and the firste chapitle' (p.13). The function of this statement is to elaborate his *ordinatio* by indicating the numbered part and chapter, the named day, and the basic unit of the *divisio*, 'the contemplacioun'. The *proheme* has done its work.

V. ADDITION FROM THE GOSPELS AND THE INFLUENCE OF COMMENTARY

(1) Gospel Harmony and the Heavy Heart

We have seen so far Love at work as a translator adapting prohemial, and other, matter of his source. Given that the ultimate source of the source is the gospels, it would not be surprising if Love's own knowledge and understanding of the gospels, together with their commentary-tradition, influenced his behaviour.

The following extract from the Mirrour shows how Love tackles the beginning of the Pseudo-Bonaventurean meditation on the Passion on the morning before Christ was taken. The Latin narrates the manner of Christ's going into the garden with his disciples to pray. As a deft compiler-commentator Love does not limit himself merely to Englishing the literal sense of the source. Rather he modifies it according to what he sees as a more useful, complete, affective and authoritative treatment of this particular section, more responsive to the priorities of orthodox commentary-tradition. The first thing to notice is the 'NB.N.' in the margin, which is highly unusual. It means that Nicholas Love's authority is commixed with that of Pseudo-Bonaventure. Of course, Love has authority to write his meditations imaginatively. However, it transpires in addition that Love's authority is in fact that of the Vulgate itself,

refracted through orthodox exegesis. Below are the corresponding passages from Pseudo-Bonaventure and Love.

> Reassume igitur meditaciones istas a principio passionis et prosequere per ordinem usque in finem, de quibus, sicut michi videbitur, modo tangam: tu vero, ut placet, exerciteris in amplioribus ut et tibi Dominus ipse dabit. Attende igitur ad singula, ac si presens esses; et cerne eum attente, cum a cena exiens, sermone completo, in ortum cum discipulis suis vadit. Ultimo nunc inter eos intra et perpende quomodo affectuouse, socialiter et familiariter eis loquitur, et ad oracionem ortatur; quomodo eciam ipse pusillum, id est, per iactam lapidis progrediens, humiliter ac reverenter positis genibus orat Patrem. Hic parumper subsiste et mirabilia Domini Dei tui mente pia revolve.[7]

> ¶ Go we than to the processe of his passioun/ takynge hede and makynge vs in mynde as in presence to all that folweth. And first byholdynge how/ after the processe of the gospel of seint John/ oure lord Jesu after that worthy soper was done and that noble and fructuouse sermoun ended/ wherof it is spoken in the nexte chapitre biforn/ he wente with his disciples ouer the water of Cedron in to a ȝerde or a gardyn/ in to the whiche he was wont ofte sithes to

come with his disciples/ and there he bad hem abyde and praye. And ferthermore takynge with him his thre special secretaries/ that is to say/ Peter and James and John/ and tellynge hem that his herte was heuy and sorwful vnto the deth/ bad hem there abyde and wake with hym in prayeres. And so a litel ferther fro hem/ as aboute the space of a stones cast vppon a litel hulle/ mekely and reuerently knelynge vppon bothe his knees made his prayer to the fader deuoutliche/ in manere as it folweth after.

¶ But here abide we a litell while/ and take we hede with a deuoute mynde of this wonderfull dede of oure lord Jesu/... (pp.218-19)

There are important differences between Love and Pseudo-Bonaventure. The second Latin sentence, 'Tu vero, ut placet, exerciteris in amplioribus ut et tibi Dominus ipse dabit', is cut by Love. It is not Biblically necessary. Neither does the Latin state that Christ 'wente with his disciples ouer the water of Cedron'. This is compiled into the Mirrour directly from the Gospel of St. John XVIII.1.: 'trans torrentem Cedron'; as is 'was wont ofte sithes to come with his disciples', i.e. John XVIII.2.: 'quia frequenter Jesus convenerat illuc cum discipulis suis'.[90] In citing John's name, Love acknowledges these additions.

Pseudo-Bonaventure's Jesus talks to his disciples. We are not told in the Latin *what* He says, but only how He says it: 'affectuouse, socialiter et familiariter'. Then He goes to pray. These attractive ways of Jesus's speaking are worthy of meditation, but they have only imaginative status and are not Biblically authentic. Love exercises his right to dispense with them. His Christ follows the Vulgate, with sadder words which actually enter the English text, as we shall see.

In the Mirrour, Peter, James and John are specified as confidants. In the Meditationes Vitae Christi they are not even mentioned. The words of Jesus to them, albeit reported, are the words of the Vulgate itself, for Love adds that the 'thre special secretaries' are told by Him that His heart is heavy and sorrowful unto the death, and asked to stay and wake with Him in prayers, as in the Vulgate below:

MATTHEW

Et assumpsto Petro, et duobus filiis Zebedaei, coepit contristari et moestus esse. Tunc ait illis: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem; sustinete hic, et vigilate mecum.[81]

MARK

Et assumit Petrum, et Jacobum, et Joannem secum: et coepit pavere et taedere. Et ait illis: Tristis est

anima mea usque ad mortem: sustinete hic, et vigilate.[92]

These added materials, taken from Matthew XXVI.37-8 and Mark XIV.33-4, unlike the excerptions from St. John's Gospel, are not acknowledged. Love acquires the disciples' names from the two evangelists, but the interesting addition, 'his thre special secretaries', is not from the Vulgate but can be found in orthodox commentary in the Glossa Ordinaria and in Lyre's Postills, all of which were commonly included in Bible codices in the margins and interlinearly.[93] The enormous availability and authority of these works, together with their physical interlacing with the Vulgate text, makes for an influence measurable in inches and page-turns. The standard interlinear gloss on Matthew's 'Et assumpsto Petro et duobus filiis Zebedaei', 'quibus secretiora manifestaret' (fol.80r), is reflected by Love's rendering. However, consultation of the exposition and vocabulary of Lyre's Postilla Litteralis proves impressively illuminating:

¶ ET ASSUMPTO PETRO ET DUOBUS FILIJS ZEBEDEI. Isti enim tres erant magis familiares ipsi christo: et ad eius secreta magis admittebantur quam alii. Ratio autem tacta est supra xvii. (fol.80r)

These three especially were Christ's 'familiares'. The words 'tres' and 'secreta' emerge in Love's 'thre special secretaries'.

It is worth bearing in mind here that Lyre refers his readership back to his earlier discussion of the three confidants in his examination of Matthew XVII, in which is to be found a more detailed exposition proceeding from a Vulgate text very similar to the later passage in Chapter XXVI. This more detailed exposition also contains strong similarities to Love's rendering, including the word 'specialis', as in 'special' in the Mirrour:

> ¶ ASSUMPSIT PETRUM ET IACOBUM ET IOHANNEM FRATREM EIUS. Isti enim tres sunt assumpti ad videndum gloriam future resurrectionis propter prerogatiuam eminentie specialis inter alios. (fol.53v)

The notion of having confidants is linked by Lyra to the very words of Jesus, words which Love closely reports *ad verbum (see above)*:

> ¶ SUSTINETE HIC ET VIGILATE MECUM. tanquam amici speciales qui debent in angustijs amicis assistere. (fols.80r-80v)

The *sentence* and vocabulary (e.g. 'speciales') of each of these concordant expositions combine and re-inforce each other. Love's rendering, motivated by them, is a vernacular concentration of them.

In the light of this, the earlier addition, 'ouer the water of Cedron', noted above, invites further comment. In commentary-tradition Cedron was associated with Christ's sorrowful heart. Lyra, in the Postilla Moralis, commonly incorporated in Bible codices, expounds Cedron as 'sad mourning/sorrow/grief': 'trans torrentem cedron. qui interpretatur tristis meror' (fol.235v). Other, earlier, doctors would appear to lend this tradition a certain puissance and provide further evidence as to the likelihood of Love responding to such a tradition. Rabanus Maurus, in his Commentaria in Libros Machabaeorum, interprets the name suitably sadly: 'Interpretatur autem Cedron *tristitia*, sive *moeror*, sive *dolor*'.[94] The exposition of Hugh of St. Victor, in De Claustro Animae, is similar: 'Cedron interpretatus *tristi* vel *moeror*'.[95] Incontestably, Love's addition was motivated by an exegetical association with Christ's sorrowful heart. The addition of Christ's sorrowful heart invited another addition, the torrent of His sadness.

All these alterations and additions in the Mirrour in this passage make it substantially different in content and tone from the Meditationes Vitae Christi. The English text is more authoritative, affective and effective. The *utilitas/profyte* of an inserted burst of gospel-harmonizing, which is substantially commentary-motivated, is that it forms a fuller, *in-eched* version closer to vital Biblical events essential to understanding and sympathising with the process of the Passion. Moreover Love provides better the necessary context for Jesus's

subsequent solitary praying for Himself at the beginning of His Passion. The Englishman stresses factually but affectively the Humanity of Christ when he has Jesus tell His 'secretaries' of His sorrow unto the death and asks them to 'wake with hym in prayeres'. This poignantly contextualises, and is echoed in, Jesus's subsequent lone praying in His Manhood (pp.219-21), such praying being an utterly mortal form of discourse with His mortality its subject and motivation. Also, the reader/hearer, once told of Christ's intimately human heart being 'heuy and sorwful vnto the deth', becomes in turn another 'special secretary', present through the very process of reading or hearing. The subsequent instruction 'here abide we a litell while/ and take we hede' cannot but be followed by such a reader, who is necessarily present, abiding as a confidant in the imaginative mise-en-scène.

(ii) The Mobile Gloss

This is not the only example of commentary-motivated addition from the gospels in the Mirrour. The account of the thief who blasphemed Christ has roots not just in the Meditationes Vitae Christi, but also in the gospels. 'Pendet inter duos latrones...Alii blasphemant, dicentes' (Stallings, p.113) becomes:

> And ȝit more ouer he hongeth bytwene two theefes✓ of the whiche that oon blasphemeth and tempteth him to inpacience✓ and therwith other blasphemen and skornynge seyne...(pp.239-40)

This, Salter observes, has a parallel in Luke XXIII.39: 'Unus autem de his, qui pendebat, latronibus, blasphemabat eum, dicens...'[96] However, she does not account for the other added material concerning the tempting of Christ to impatience, i.e. 'and tempteth him to inpacience'. However, if Lyre in his commentary on this gospel in his Postilla Moralis is consulted, we do find reference to patience: 'Et isti significantur per latronem blasphemantem. alii vero professi crucem penitencie per patientiam deuote sustinent' (181ʳ). We come yet closer to Love's rendering if we turn to the Postilla Literalis and the Glossa Ordinaria, not for what either has to offer as regards the Gospel of Luke, but for their comments on the corresponding passage in Matthew XXVII.40. The Glossa reads thus: '¶ SI FILIUS DEI ES. Si insultantibus cedens descenderet de cruce: virtutem patientie non demonstraret' (fol.85ʳ). Lyre follows it: 'si autem tunc de cruce descenderet/ virtutem patientie non demonstraret' (fol.85ʳ). It is interesting that Love added words from one gospel but the commentary from another gospel. This goes to show how the gospels' *sentence* was harmonised, to the extent that the commentary on each had a degree of interchangeability and mobility. It is also an example of the complexity and flexibility with which commentary-tradition could

be used. It is not unthinkable that these renderings sprang from Love's familiarity with standard glosses lodged in his memory, rather than his physical consultation of a glossed Bible. In any case it, like the other previously-discussed additions, shows not just the inextricability of Biblical text and gloss, but that a medieval translator, even when he is not ostensibly tackling the Bible at first hand, but at second hand through a meditative reworking like the Meditationes Vitae Christi, is reading his ostensible source through a universal primary source, the gospel and its commentary-tradition.

NOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

NICHOLAS LOVE'S MIRROUR OF THE BLESSED LYF OF JESU CHRIST: PROLOGUE AND PRACTICE

1. The major study of the Mirrour is Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour.

2. See Michael G. Sargent, 'Bonaventura English: A Survey of the Middle English Prose Translations of Early Franciscan Literature', in Spätmittelalterliche Geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache, Analecta Cartusiana 106:2 (Salzburg, Universität Salzburg, 1984) 145-76, p.153.

3. See Elizabeth Salter, 'The Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ and Related Texts', in Middle English Prose: Essays in Bibliographical Problems, edited by A.S.G. Edwards and Derek Pearsall (New York, Garland, 1981) 115-27, p.115.

4. See Sargent, 'Bonaventura English', p.151.

5. See Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, p.16.

6. For the Latin text of the *memorandum*, see Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.1-2.

7. See Thomas More, The Complete Works of St. Thomas More, Vol.8, Part 1, The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer, edited by Louis A. Schuster, Richard C. Marius, James P. Lusardi, and Richard P. Schoeck (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1973) p.37; also Patrick F. O'Connell, 'Love's Mirrour and the Meditationes Vitae Christi' Analecta Cartusiana 82:2 (Salzburg, Universität Salzburg, 1980) 3-44; pp.3, 42.

8. See Opera Omnia Sancti Bonaventurae edited by A.C. Peltier (Paris, Ludovicus Vives, 1868) vol. 12: Meditationes Vitae Christi pp.509-630. For a modern edition of the Passion-section see Meditaciones de Passione Christi olim Sancto Bonaventurae attributae, edited by Sister M. Jordan Stallings, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature 25 (Washington D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1965).

9. See Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.39-46.

10. See Smaointe Beatha Chriost .i. Innsint Ghaelge a chuir Tomás Gruamdha ó Bruicháin (fl.1450) ar an Meditationes Vitae Christi, edited by Cainneach ó Maonaigh O.F.M. (Dublin, Institúid Ard-Léighinn Bhaile Átha Cliath (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies), 1944) English appendix, pp. 325-6.

11. See Sargent, 'Bonaventura English', p.148.

12. See Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.44-46; Sargent, 'Bonaventura English', pp.148-51.

13. Sargent, 'Bonaventura English', pp.149-51.

14. ibid., p.154.

15. See Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, p.103.

16. ibid., pp. 42-43.

17. See Mirrour, pp.7-13.

18. For the main examples of anti-Lollard polemic and glossing in the Mirrour see. pp.180, 184-9, 193, 301, and the 'tretys of the...sacrament', 301-323, esp. 320-323.

19. For examples of statements regarding exclusion or curtailment of theological, contemplative, and expository passages or materials otherwise aimed at the enclosed religious or likely to be wearisome by continuance or unsuitable for the 'symple soules' see pp.53, 57, 95, 100-1, 115, 141, 158-160.

20. Mirrour, pp.7-13; Peltier, pp.510-11.

21. Ormulum, ll.55-58.

22. Minnis, Medieval Theory of Authorship, pp.205-9.

23. St. Augustine, 'De Agone Christiano', PL 40, 290-310, col.297-8.

24. See 'Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible', ed. Hudson, p.72, in which good living is held to aid good translating, as discussed above (p.133)

25. Catholicon Anglicum, s.v. to draw out or up, ed. Sidney J. Herrtage, EETS OS 75 (London, N. Trübner and Co., 1881), p.107; The Promptorium Parvulorum, s.v. drawyn owt, ed. A.L. Mayhew, EETS ES 102 (London, N. Trübner and Co., 1908), col.140.

26. This periphrastic abridgement was part and parcel of Gallus's project of re-interpreting the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus for his age. In so doing he contributed, along with Richard of St. Victor to an orthodox tradition of theory of imagination on which English vernacular meditative writers, including Walter Hilton, the Cloud-author, and, most importantly, Nicholas Love and the Speculum Devotorum drew.

27. See The Cloud of Unknowing and The Book of Privy Counselling, ed. Phyllis Hodgson, EETS OS 218 (London, Oxford University Press, 1944); Deonise Hid Diuinite and Other Treatises on Contemplative Prayer Related to the Cloud of Unknowing: A Tretyse of þe Stodye of Wysdome þat Men Clepen Beniamyn. A Pistle of Preier. A Pistle of Discrescyon of Stirings. A Tretis of Spirites., ed. Phyllis Hodgson, EETS OS 231 (London, Oxford

University Press, 1955). For Hilton's Scale of Perfection, of which there is still no published Middle English critical edition, see Barbara E. Wykes, 'An Edition of Book I of The Scale of Perfection by Walter Hilton' Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1957; Stanley Stewart Hussey, 'An Edition, from the Manuscripts, of Book II of Walter Hilton's Scale of Perfection', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1962. Because of the difficulty of availability of the two unpublished editions I am also giving references for the modernised English version, Walter Hilton, The Scale of Perfection Translated into Modern English with an Introduction and Notes, ed. Dom Gerard Sitwell, O.S.B. (London, Burns Oates, 1953). I have had access to Hussey's edition, but not to Wykes's. However, I will give references to the latter as far as possible, these being generally derived from an article by Alastair Minnis, 'Affection and Imagination in the Cloud of Unknowing and Hilton's Scale of Perfection', Traditio 39 (1983) 323-66.

28. Hussey, II.30, pp.125.15-129.12; Sitwell I.4-10, pp.6-16; II.30, pp.231-3. For an examination of the influence upon Hilton and the Cloud-author of standard medieval theory of imagination, see Alastair Minnis, 'Affection and Imagination', esp. pp.351, 355-6 for discussion of the approach of the theoretical tradition to the imagining of the Sacred Humanity. I have drawn generally on this article because, in locating and illustrating the theoretical context of the works of these two vernacular

imaginative writers, it also provides the context, I would argue, for Love.

29. Hussey, II.30, pp.128.5-129.5; Sitwell II.30, p. 233-4.

30. Hussey, II.30, pp.126.9-14; Sitwell II.30, p.232.

31. Hussey, II.30, pp.126.8 -127.8; Sitwell II.30, pp.232-3.

32. See the prologue to the Cloud, p.2.24-3.1.

33. ibid., p.3.6.

34. Sitwell I.44, p.69.

35. Book of Privy Counselling, p.159.19-160.3.

36. Sitwell I.15, p.22.

37. Book of Privy Counselling, p.158.17-26.

38. Hussey, II.35, p.135.7; Sitwell II.35, p.255.

39. Sir Philip Sidney, An Apology for Poetry or The Defence of Poesy, edited by Geoffrey Shepherd (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1973) p.123.

40. Hussey, II.33, p.144.21-145.9; Sitwell, II.31, pp.239-40.

41. Hussey, II.31, 136.3-17; Sitwell, II.31, pp.239-40.

42. Sitwell, I.15, p.21. See generally Minnis, 'Affection and Imagination', which deals in part with Hilton's attitude to meditation for the unlearned.

43. Wykes, I.15, p.107, cited by Minnis, 'Affection and Imagination', p.352; Sitwell, I.15, pp.21-22

44. Wykes, I.4, p.91, cited by Minnis, 'Affection and Imagination', p.353; Sitwell, I.4, p.6.

45. Wykes, I.5, p.91, cited by Minnis, 'Affection and Imagination, p.353; Sitwell, I.5, p.8.

46. Hussey, II.31, p.136.4-8; Sitwell, II.31, pp.239-40.

47. Hussey, II.31, p.136.11-15; Sitwell, II.31, p.240.

48. See Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, An English Father of the Church, and His Followers, 2 vols, edited by Carl Horstmann (London, Swann Sonnenschein and Co., 1895-6) vol. 1, 262-92.

49. For discussion of *forma tractatus* and *modus scribendi/agendi*, see generally Chapter III above.

50. Thomas Gallus, also known as 'Vercellensis', Victorine Abbot of St. Andrews, Vercelli from 1219 to the year of his death, 1246, expounded many Pseudo-Dionysian works, including De Mystica

Theologia, De Divinis Nominibus, both of the Hierarchies and some of the letters. The expositions of most relevance to vernacular English meditative literature are his brief commentary, or Glossa on De Mystica Theologia (1232), misattributed to John the Scot under whose name it is printed in PL 122, 267-84; a fuller version of the same, the Explanatio (1241), and the Extractio a paraphrase of the work. He also wrote another Extractio on De Caelesti Hierarchia. For extensive quotation and examination of these works and Richard of St. Victor's Beniamin Minor (PL 196, 1-64, esp.10D-11B) as it applies to Hilton and the Cloud-author, see generally Minnis, 'Affection and Imagination'. In the introduction to her editions of the Cloud (pp.lviii-lxiii) and Deonise Hid Diuinite (pp.xxxix-xliii) Hodgson discusses the English writer's debt to Gallus, who in the Latin work is openly cited, the Cloud-author having 'moche folowed þe sentence of the Abbot of Seinte Victore, a noble and worthy expositour of þis same book' (p.2.10-12).

51. Cited by Minnis, 'Affection and Imagination', p.328.

52. Cited ibid., p.332-3.

53. Cited ibid., p.343.

54. Cited ibid., pp.333-4.

55. Cloud, p.110, 9-13.

56. Catholicon, s.v. de tropa under parabola, unfol.

57. Cited by Minnis, 'Affection and Imagination', p.347.

58. Cloud, pp.90.20-91.6.

59. The Vulgate New Testament, p.157.

60. Legenda Aurea, ed. Graesse, p. 241; Meditations on the the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ital. 115, translated by Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1961) pp.365, 402.

61. For an extremely informative study of mirror-titles in medieval and Renaissance culture see Herbert Grabes, The Mutable

Glass: Mirror-images in titles and texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance, translated by Gordon Collier (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982).

62. ibid., pp.19, 235-79

63. ibid., pp.23-30; 42-58.

64. ibid., p.21.

65. Ritamary Bradley, 'The Speculum Image in Medieval Mystical Writers' in The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers read at Dartington Hall, July 1984, edited by Marion Glasscoe (Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 1984) 9-27, p.15.

66. ibid., pp.11-12.

67. Sitwell, I.9, p.12.

68. Sitwell, I.9, p.14.

69. Hussey, II.30, p.124.19-20; II.31, p.136.5-17; Sitwell, II.30, p.231: II.31, p.239-40.

70. Bradley, 'The Speculum Image', p.17.

71. Book of Privy Counselling, p.136.27-29; Bradley, 'The Speculum Image', p.16.

72. See Bradley, 'The Speculum Image', pp.17-20; The Pricke of Conscience, edited by Richard Morris (New York, 1973) p.221.

73. Bradley, 'The Speculum Image', p.17; Meditations on the Passion, in Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, An English Father of the Church, and His Followers, 2 vols, edited by Carl Horstmann, (London, Swann Sonnenschein and Co., 1895-6) vol. 1, 92-103, p.95.

74. Cloud, p.72.4.

75. Grabes, The Mutable Glass, p.274.

76. Cloud, pp.71.11-14, 72.5.

77. ibid., p.3.4-6.

78. Ragusa and Green, Meditations, p.3.

79. Stallings, p.98; corresponding passage in Peltier, p.600.

80. The Vulgate New Testament, p.151.

81. ibid., p.40.

82. ibid., p.69.

83. For Lyre's Postills, I have used Textus Biblie cum Glosa ordinaria Nicolai de lyra postilla moralitatibus eiusdem Pauli Burgensis Additionibus Matthie Thorning Replicis, edited by C. Leontorius (Lyons, Jacobus Mareschal, 1520) 6 vols, vol.5.

84. Rabanus Maurus, 'Commentaria in Libros Machabaeorum', Caput. XV, PL 109, 1125-1256, col.1211

85. Hugh of St Victor, 'De Claustro Animae', Lib. IV, PL 176, col.1146

86. Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, p.311; The Vulgate New Testament, pp.118.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SPECULUM DEVOTORUM:

'DRAVE FUL LOONGE IN A SOULE'

For the Middle Ages both meditation and translation were a form of exposition. It is fitting then, that the maker of an intriguing fifteenth-century Life of Christ, the imaginative Speculum Devotorum, should use the same term to refer to translation and meditation, the word 'drawe'. Just as one particular passage has been *drawn* in 'schort' manner, word-for-word, so should meditation be 'drawe ful loonge in a soule'.

> § These be the wordys þat oure lady hadde to seyint Brygytt...the whyche I haue drawe here into englyische tonge almoste worde for worde for the more conuenyent forme and ordyr of these sympyl medytacyonys & to ȝoure edyfycacyon or eny othyr deuout creature þat can not vndyrstande latyn; the whyche ȝe maye thynke vndyr forme of medytacyon as I haue tolde ȝow of othyre afore; for thowgth hyt be schortly seyde here vndyr a compendyus manyr, ȝytt hyt may be drawe ful loonge in a soule þat can deuoutly thynke & dylygently beholde the werkys of oure lorde that be conteynyd therinne & in sueche manyr thynkynge beholde inwardly & wysely. (pp.145-6)

The two connotations in the wordplay on 'drawe' represent the two poles of the translator's activity, for the Speculum Devotorum contains a range of translation procedures, not only close, word-for-word translating, but also more expansive vernacular commentary-methods for expounding gospel *matere* for the purposes of meditation. The above passage instructs the reader to 'drawe' the imaginations 'ful loonge' in herself. Yet the maker of the book has had to do precisely the same thing in order to make an English imaginative work from his authoritative sources. Whether it takes the form of close translation of a revelation of St Bridget or a more periphrastic *in-eched* exposition of Biblical *materiae* and commentary-tradition, the fully imagined realisation of the events signified by the historical or literal sense of the gospels are regarded as the common *matere* of both reader and translator. Translation and meditative exposition merge.

A Carthusian prose compilation by an unknown monk of Sheen, probably composed before the middle of the fifteenth century and no earlier than 1410, the meditative Speculum Devotorum was intended for a religious woman, a 'goostly syster', possibly a sister of Sion Abbey.[1] The work, written in Southeast Midland and literary London English, is narrative, imaginative, exegetical, moralising, and prayerful. Extant in two manuscripts of the fifteenth century, it consists of a series of meditations on the Life of Christ, arranged in thirty three chapters, after which is a panegyric on St. John the Evangelist, a Latin colophon and the Latin prayer O Intemerata together with an English

rendering of it. The chief sources of the Speculum Devotorum are the gospels together with the Postilla Litteralis of Nicholas of Lyre and the Historia Scholastica of Peter Comestor. It opens with a remarkably sophisticated scholastic-type prologue, in which all the major traditional categories are dealt with (pp.1-11).

I. THE *PREFACYON*

The 'prefacyon' to the Speculum Devotorum (pp. 1-11) opens with an address to a 'gostly syster in Ihesu Cryste' (p.1) for whom the book was made. She is told that the work is not the Passion-meditation she had earlier been promised but rather a fuller version of the life of Christ in thirty-three chapters, as summarised in a table of chapter-titles immediately following the *prefacyon* (pp.1-2). This table is for the benefit of the reader, who will be able to consult and memorise materials with greater ease.

The writer then tells how he was discouraged from completing his work because St. Bonaventure had made a Life of Christ and, worse, another Carthusian (presumably Nicholas Love), had translated this book into English (p.2). Only the advice and encouragement of his Prior prevented abandonment of the project (pp.2-3). All deficiencies in the Speculum Devotorum are to be 'redressyd' to the compiler, all its genuine *utilitas* to God and

to the merits of those for whose spiritual profit the book is intended (pp.3-4). The monk of Sheen pre-empts his potential detractors with the conventional argument that the four Evangelists wrote diversely of the same Holy Life, yet all wrote well and profitably, complementing each other (pp.4-5). Thus this further version, however diverse or flawed, is still profitable; and though its shortcomings may be blameworthy, the writer is guiltless in the purity of his *entent* (p.5).

At this point the compiler of the Speculum Devotorum, like Nicholas Love in his *proheme*, announces a vernacular title for the work, giving his reasons (p.5). Having done this he asserts the supremacy and vast *utilitas* of meditating on the life of Christ, which leads the reader to virtues, spiritual knowledge, love of God, and sweetness in grace. This claim is supported by citation from the Orologium Sapientiae (pp.6-7).

Having asserted, as in the Mirrour, that the Life of Christ outdoes all Saints' Lives, the monk of Sheen instructs the reader to read the work diligently and without haste (pp.7-9). Eager to show a propriety equal to that expected of his audience, he then advertises his use of the very best commentators of the day for the literal and historical understanding of the gospels, these being Nicholas of Lyre and Peter Comestor respectively (pp.9-10). Though his chief reliance is on these two great doctors, he has also drawn on other commentators and on revelations of approved

women, and also on his own reason and conscience when appropriate (pp.9-10).

The *prefacyon* closes with an appeal to the reader to say three Pater Nosters, three Aves and a Creed before the beginning of the first chapter, in the middle of the book before the Passion, and also at the end of the work in token of the Holy Trinity (pp.10-11).

(i) An Epistolary Opening: From Passion to *Vita*

Having announced the beginning of the *prefacyon*, the writer of the Speculum Devotorum addresses the 'gostly syster' in epistolary tone, reminding her of his earlier promise that he would write her a passion-meditation:

> Here begynnyth a prefacyon to the boke folowynge. Gostly syster in Ihesu Cryste I trowe hyt be not ȝytt fro ȝoure mynde that whenne we spake laste togyderys I behette ȝow a medytacyon of the passyon of oure lorde, the whyche promysse I haue not putte fro my mynde but be dyuerse tymys be the grace of god I haue parformyd hyt as I mygthte; oure lorde graunte þat hyt be to hym pleseable & to ȝow profytable or to eny othyr deuot seruant of god. (p.1)

As with the Mirrour and the Stanzaic Life of Christ the compiler of this work is under an obligation ('promysse') to someone to whom he 'behette' his work. Though the tone is personal, the work is declared (as in the Meditationes Vitae Christi and Love's Mirrour), to be applicable also 'to eny othyr deuot seruant of god'. Though medieval devotional literature was commonly epistolary, the compiler might have been more specifically bearing in mind, and perhaps wished to be seen to follow, the prestigious precedent of the Meditationes Vitae Christi, and maybe, in addition, Love's Mirrour, both of which contain proems addressed to a *dilecta filia*. The Speculum Devotorum was not utterly obliged to use this particular form of prologue, though it is no surprise that he does. The reader to whom the *prefacyon* is addressed is, importantly, the ideal reader, and ideal not only for the proper appreciation of the work but for the direct spiritual benefit of the writer. Indeed, by her and other readers' spiritual merits the project may be borne up, so the writer hopes, for he is 'sumwhat bore vp be the conseyil of goostly fadrys & the merytys of hem that be þe mercy of god mowe be profytyd be' his 'sympyl traveyle' (p.3).

The writer has finished the passion-meditation, thus living up to his 'promysse'. Its *entent* and *utilitas* is that of pleasing God and profiting the reader, referred to as 'ȝow'. This use of the polite second person plural is not just a mark of civility; it suits the potential plural audience of 'othyr' souls.

He sees himself as having 'parformyd' his work 'be the grace of god', as if he had a somewhat instrumental role, permitted, enabled and illumined by divine grace, yet at the same time delimited by his own human capacities (i.e. 'as I mygthte'). However, his performance has been more extensive than was originally promised, for he has not written a passion-meditation but a larger Life of Christ:

> But I do ȝow to wyte that be conseyle I haue put to myche more thanne I behette ȝow to more encresynge of ȝoure loue to god & of vertuys or of eny othyr that mygth be þe grace of god profyte be the same, as ȝe maye see schortly in the tabyl folowynge thys prefacyon. (p.1)

He has over-'parformyd' his 'promysse' not from his own authority, but 'be conseyle', such advice being presumably taken from other suitable persons like his Prior, of whom he later writes. Not content to limit himself to the passion, he has added considerably more *materia*, for he has 'put to myche more', thereby increasing the devotional and moral *utilitas* of the work, that is 'encresynge of...loue to god & of vertuys'. This positive decision to go beyond a passion-meditation reflects the fifteenth century development in the tradition of meditative literary treatment of the Sacred Humanity of rendering not just the passion but the whole of the life of Christ. From the fourteenth century are extant several separate treatments of the

passion-section of the Meditationes Vitae Christi, but no versions of the work in its entirety.[2] Interestingly, there would appear to be a complementary paucity in the production of Pseudo-Bonaventurean passions in the following century, which witnessed such comprehensive renditions of the whole life in Love's Mirrour, the anonymous translation of Pseudo-Bonaventure, and the Englishing of Ludolphus the Carthusian's work, which incorporates considerable portions of the Meditationes Vitae Christi. It is not unthinkable that the compiler of the Speculum Devotorum felt pressured to respond to a possible shift in tradition, doubtless made all the more manifest by the precedent of the Mirrour (to say nothing of its excellence and fame, perhaps). Clearly, the plenitude of the Sacred Humanity and its manifold *utilitas* is expressed better by the Englishing of the whole of His Life than by the passion alone. The addition of more moralising materials, mainly in the non-passion parts of the Life, goes hand-in-hand with the intended use by 'eny othyr' souls, not excluding the devout laity, as well as the 'gostly syster'.

(11) Tables and Titles and the Role of the Reader

The compiler refers his reader forward to the 'tabyl', where can be seen the additional material along with the passion. Presumably, at this point, a reader might well thumb forward to the table and see immediately the scope of the work. Whether or not the 'gostly syster' did this, the compiler intends her to read the 'tabyl', because he deliberately puts it between the *prefacyon* and the start of the first chapter. Evidently, it was meant to be used frequently as an integral part of the work:

> For I haue dyvydyd the boke folowynge in thre & thyrty chapetelys to the worschype of the thre and thyrty ȝere that oure sauyoure lyuyde in erthe; & I haue sette þe tytyllys of hem alle in a tabyl aftyr thys prefacyon afore the boke that hosoeuere lykyth to rede hyt maye see schortly there alle the matere [i.e. *materia*] of the boke folowynge & rede where hym lykyth best, & that he mygthte þe sonnyr fynde that he desyryth moste, & the bettyr kepe hyt in mynde, & also redylokyr fynde hyt yf hym lyste to see hyt aȝen; notwythstondynge hyt were best hoso mygth haue tyme and laysyr therto, to rede hyt alle as hyt ys sette. (pp.1-2)

This constitutes a description of the *forma tractatus*, the *divisio*. The thirty-threefold 'tabyl' glorifies Christ each time

it is consulted, be it in part or whole. Each single 'chapytyll', as one thirty-third, witnesses to the whole life in a way that the sevenfold division into days of the week (as in the passion narratives and the Meditationes Vitae Christi and the Mirrour) do not. Moreover, though there is a certain comprehensiveness in the treatment of Christ's life in works such as the Legenda Aurea and the Stanzaic Life of Christ, each individual *divisio* does not in itself reflect the wholeness of the *Vita* with the same rhetoric of number invoked by each chapter of the Speculum Devotorum. One wonders if the monk of Sheen were seeking to overgo Bonaventure and Love and the 'festal' Lives by an enhanced *ordinatio*, intended to reflect the Life itself rather than the forms of Holy Church, thus explicitly informing his work with plenitude of the whole life. The reader would treat a non-passion chapter, say, from the childhood, with time, attention and method comparable to the treatment of the passion. It is also tempting to conjecture, all the usual *caveats* about numerological over-interpretation notwithstanding, that there may be a connection between the *ordinatio* and the threes and ones at the heart of the instruction at the end of the *prefacyon*, an instruction to pray at the beginning, middle and end of the Life, thereby enhancing the work's simultaneous divisibility and its unity by two threes (i.e. thirty-three?), three Paternosters and three Aves, and a one (a Creed). The main *caveat* about this hypothesis is that, even though it is credible that the medieval reader may choose to read some or all of this into the text, the compiler does not make such an intention clear, for he chooses to

highlight the betokening of the Holy Trinity, Mary, the Saints and his own sins:

> § Also I haue prayde ȝow in the fyrste chapetele of the boke folowynge and by ȝow or eny othyr devout seruaunt of god that maye aftyrwarde be the grace of god rede the boke folowynge to seye thre Pater noster, thre Aueys, & a crede to þe worschype of the holy trynytee the whyche ys oo verry god, of oure lady, & of alle þe seyintys & for goode grace þat ys necessarye in redynge of the sympyl medytacyonys folowynge, & also for the forȝeuenesse of the synnys of the fyrste wrytare of hem, & the same prayere I haue askyd aȝen abowte the myddyl afore the passyon, & also in the laste ende in betokenynge þat the holy trynytee ys the begynnynge, the mydyl, & the ende, of alle goode werkys, to whom be alle worschype ioye & preysynge now & wythoute endynge, Amen. (pp.10-11)

In one sense these three prayers apply an equal valorisation to both the passion and the whole life, from beginning to end. Yet at the same time, in that the passion is the only individual part of the life specified, it is also, rather paradoxically, singled out against and above the rest of the *vita*.

To return to a consideration of the 'tabyl', the intention behind each 'tytyll' to reveal 'alle the matere of the boke'

harmonises with the Catholicon's definition of *capitula*, which 'breviter capiant et contineant aliquam sententiam': each heading contains in short some worthwhile teaching to found in each chapter.[3] The 'tabyl' has the further function of providing the reader with an abbreviated, 'at-a-glance' version of the whole book (or individual chapters) and of their own experience of past reading. As such it can 'stand in' for the fuller *matere* (as is also the case with Love's Mirrour (see Mirrour, pp.1-5) and the Miroure of Mans Saluacionne (see above, pp.124-6). So, the 'tytyllys' may have enough mnemonic power to re-invigorate old experience, which in reality could not exclude other experience of the gospels outside the Speculum Devotorum. Such complementary experience is in no way at odds with what the compiler intended, for he himself recognises the harmonic intertextual diversity of treatments of the Life of Christ, which are meant to be inter-related, not kept apart.

The 'tabyl', a frequent feature of the literary genre of *compilatio*, invaluably enhances the usability of the book and, most importantly, reader-choice, 'that he mygthte þe sonnyr fynde that he desyryth moste' (p.2). The word 'desyryth' is particularly suitable because it invokes the language of devotional stirring. Also, the book is not made for one reading but for multiple re-using 'yf hym lyste to see hyt ȝen'. It may be indicative of the compiler's respect for *lectoris arbitrium* and of his expectations of actual reader-behaviour that he deals first with the matter of reader-choice, and only afterwards

appends a consideration of those who might read all the book *in ordine naturali*: 'notwythstondynge hyt were best hoso mygth haue tyme and laysyr therto, to rede hyt alle as hyt ys sette' (p.2). In any case both methods of reading are commendable.

Though the book is designed to give the reader the maximum flexibility, she too has a moral duty as part of her role. The writer expects of his readership what he expects of himself, a pure intention and genuine diligence:

> § Also the medytacyonys folowynge be not to be red negligently, & wyth hastynesse but dylygently & wyth a goode avysement that þe redare maye haue þe more profyte therof, for hyt ys bettyr to rede oo chapetele dylygently & wyth a goode delyberacyon thanne thre wyth negligence & hastynesse, for ȝe schul not consydere how myche ȝe rede but how wel. (pp. 8-9)

If the reading is inattentive or over-hasty, then it will be without 'profyte', i.e. *utilitas*. This is especially important with a meditative text which makes considerable demands on the concentration and, particularly, on all the sensory and reasoning functions of the imagination. Quality of devotional experience through reading is the prime consideration, or, as it is put later, 'the oftyr and dylygentlokyr he lokyth therinne, the more grace schal he fynde' (p.7).

(iii) The Role of Retranslating

All Lives of Christ are retranslations, either of the Vulgate (itself a translation) or of other Lives of Christ. Also, the *materiae* which a translator reworks have invariably been reworked by someone else before. In rhetorical terms it is a stereotypical example of *materia exsecuta*, that is, material that has already been accorded literary treatment.[4] The maker of the Speculum Devotorum is all too aware of this, and claims to have been discouraged to the point of repeatedly considering abandonment of the whole project not only on account of his own 'vnworthynesse' but also because St. Bonaventure had written a Life of Christ:

> Also I haue be steryd ofte tymys to haue lefte thys bysynesse bothe for my vnworthynesse & also for Bonauenture a cardynal & a worthy clerke made a boke of the same matere the whyche ys callyd Vita Christi. (p.2)

Although the Speculum Devotorum is in the tradition of the Meditationes Vitae Christi it is not clear from this statement whether he has actually read what is presumably the Pseudo-Bonaventurean work; but in any case it is obviously an intimidating impediment to the work, as well as a precedent to be imitated. His choice of the word 'vnworthynesse' in referring to himself connotes not only his literary deficiencies but also his

unworthiness as a morally fallible man, who certainly cannot hope to match up to the 'cardynal and worthy clerke', who is not only scholastically but also morally and spiritually superior, with a saintly *vita auctoris* to buttress his works. Note the use of the term 'matere' from the scholastic prologue, here referring to subject-matter of the *vita* and to the meditative *matere* of the tradition of thinking on the Sacred Humanity, rather than a textual source or sources. The maker of the Speculum Devotorum has been often 'steryd' to give up. This choice of word may be deliberate, for normally in the realms of devotional literature the main 'stirring' going on is towards God in devotion. But here this oft-pious word denotes abandonment of a devotional task. As such it may be taken as a true sign of his humility, or at the very least a topos of humility, modesty and inability.

Worse than having to compete with Bonaventure is having to reckon with his English Carthusian predecessor, for the monk of Sheen was stirred to give up 'most of alle whenne I herde telle that a man of oure ordyr of charturhowse had I turnyd the same boke into englyische' (p.2). This is most likely Nicholas Love's Mirrour. He does not say that he has read the Mirrour, only that he has 'herde telle' of it. It sounds as if the news came to him as a rather unpleasant surprise after he had started projecting his work. Whether or not after this he managed to see or read the Mirrour is not certain. It would, though, be a little strange if this famous and much-circulated Carthusian vernacular work, licensed and mandated by Archbishop Arundel himself, was

completely unseen by the monk of Sheen. Perhaps, though, it was the last thing he wanted to see.

Before beginning the work, and also during his greatest doubts in the throes of performing it, he consulted suitable people, including, most importantly, his Prior, who had a personal spiritual responsibility for the writer, and, by extension, for all his work, including this text. To follow such advice lends a form of *auctoritas* to the work different from and beyond the authority of texts, and it also takes some of the responsibility for the work from the shoulders of the writer.

> ...but er I began thys occupacyon I askede conseyil of spiritual and goode men and most in specyall leue of my pryoure. And ȝytt aftyrward whenne I was moste in dowte of alle & hadde purposyd to haue lefte alle togyderys & no more vttyrly to haue do therto, ȝytt I thowgth þat I wolde aske conseyil of my pryoure the whyche I specyally louyde & truste myche to, & I trowe I tolde hym what mevyde me. (pp.2-3)

The advisors, it is pointed out, were 'spiritual and goode men', like 'the manie gode felawis and kunnynge' present at the translating of the second version of the Wycliffite Bible (see above, p.131-4). What did the Prior advise?

> And he ful charytably confortyde me to parforme hyt wyth sueche wordys as cam to hys mynde for the tyme. (p.3)

Care is taken to show the Prior's correct attitude to the production of devotional texts. The Prior does what he does 'ful charytably', with a loving intention, thus blessing the book with the purity and authority of his own *entent*, which, by virtue of his office and his personal spirituality, raises the level of authority higher up the scale of efficient causality than that which could be offered by the writer without the Prior. The word 'confortyde', with its connotations of *consolatio*, refers to the Prior's comforting, moving, allowing and instructing the writer to complete the work with resolution under his guarantee. The instrumentality of the compiler is again highlighted by the use of the term 'parforme' to describe his literary role. It is most revealing that he later refers to himself three times at least as the 'fyrste wrytare' of the meditations (pp. 5, 11, 21), that is, a mere scribe, or *scriptor* as Bonaventure put it. This is the lowest form of medieval literary role with no significant input other than replicating the works of others. To call himself no more than the first in a line of scribes, and not even a humble compiler, is to invoke a humility topos indeed. But there is a further consideration to be made of this term. In two of the passages in which he calls himself 'the fyrste wrytare' (pp. 11, 21) he is asking for the prayers of whomsoever reads the book. By requiring that the prayers go in aid of the '*fyrste* wrytare'

he is ensuring that they benefit him and do not go astray to any scribe who might copy his work in the future. Such scrupulosity concerning efficient causality is not restricted to the 'redressynge' of merits; it also applies to vicious *auctores*, in particular the devil, who, in tempting Eve in the Garden, is the 'chef autor', the motive efficient cause, with the snake the instrumental efficient cause (p.26).

At the beginning of the *prefacyon*, it will be recalled, he wrote of how he was performing a 'promysse' for a 'gostly syster'. This faithful compliance lends a certain moral weight to the venture. In complying with his Prior, he is the instrument of the Prior and Holy Church. The episode involving the Prior is too specific and credible to have been a complete fabrication. Nevertheless, it is exploited for the maximum benefit of the writer in order to shore up his position and to make the reader appreciate that the book is special, and represents a labour of love and a monumental and daunting task.

It was decided, then, that the work should not be abandoned, the compiler being 'sumwhat bore vp' by the advice of others and the merits of those who are intended to profit from the work:

> And so on the mercy of god trustynge to whom ys no thynge vnpossyble wyth drede of my vnkunnynge & vnworthynesse, also sumwhat bore vp be the conseyil of goostly fadrys & the merytys of hem that be þe

mercy of god mowe be profytyd be my sympyl traveyle in sueche tymys as I mygth traueyle be my conscyence wythoute lettynge of othyr excersysys and othyr dyuerse occupacyonys & lettyngys that mygth falle in dyuerse wysys I thowgth be the grace of god to make an ende therof, & so att the laste oure lorde of hys mercy ȝaf me grace as I hope to parforme hyt. In the whyche yf ȝe or eny othyr devout seruant of god fynde enythynge profytable or edificatyf hyt ys to be redressyd to the mercy of god & the merytys of hem þat mowen be profytyd therby; & yf enythynge be founde the contrarye hyt ys to be redressyd fully to my vnabylnesse & vnkunnynge. (pp.3-4)

The making of devotional books was an integral part of Carthusian life, a form of preaching for the enclosed. In his Consuetudines, Guigo, the fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, wrote that monks of the order must make books, because, though they cannot preach by mouth, they can do so by the labour of their hands, 'quia ore non possumus, Dei verbum manibus praedicemus'.[5] The logic is similar in Trevisa's equation of preaching with translation. In this same passage Guigo equates preaching and the making of devotional books with feeding. In the same vein, the Latin verses which end the Speculum Devotorum make a similar equation, referring, like Love in his *proheme*, to the commonplace distinction between milk and solid food.

ffinito libro. sit laus et gloria cristo

De vita cristi. libro finis datur isti

Paruos lactabit. solidos qui pane cibabit

De Bethleem pratum. dedit hos Ihesu tibi flores

Post hunc ergo statum. reddas sibi semper honores

(Wilsher, p.430)

The book is referred to in terms of 'flores', a common word for the exerptions of *florilegia*. As a compilation, the work may be taken as a collection of 'flores'. The 'honores' are to be returned to Jesus: this is like the 'redressynge' of merits to God.

Fittingly as regards the subject of preaching, St. John, an important devotional focus of the Speculum Devotorum, on whom there is a treatise at the end of the book, is referred to as having gained the Aureole of Preaching in Heaven for his *written* works:

> ¶ A doctur also he ys. for he ys one of þe apostlys the whyche bee the chefe doctorys of holy chyrche. and also he ys a doctur in hys wrytynge as wytnessyn hys gospel. hys pystyllys. and the apocalypse. and so he hath the Auryole of prechynge.

(Wilsher, p.416)

It is made clear that the book has been written alongside monastic duties, and without neglect of them. Again, it is necessary to have the 'grace of god' to 'parforme' the work (p.3). As a compiler and preacher, he refuses to take any credit for the success of the work. If the reader, who has to be 'a devout seruant of god', does 'fynde' profit ('fynde' being the operative word because the reader must discover and generate the meditations for him/herself), then it must be 'redressyd' to the ultimate authority of God and also to 'the merytys of hem þat mowen be profytyd therby' (p.4). This is sign of more than just a humble intention or a humility topos; it reflects the preacher-compiler's concern for his own spiritual status, for he asks his readership more than once to pray 'for the forȝeuenesse of the synnys of the fyrste wrytare' (pp.11-12). The more merits his readership have redressed to them in the heavenly treasury of merit by virtue of reading the Speculum Devotorum successfully, the more efficacious their prayers will be for his sake. Earlier in the *prefacyon* he states that he was indeed 'bore vp' (p.3), apparently in advance of performance, by such merits. Could it not be that his spiritual status, already enhanced in its instrumental efficient causality by virtue of the 'grace of god', the *officium praedicatoris* and his Prior's authority, is raised also by these merits? In any case, sin is avoided, for any incompetence or ignorance is solely the writer's responsibility. Though the writer, in his own internal efficient causality, is in part independent and responsible through his free-will, he is, nevertheless, safe from moral blame; for anyone with a pure

entent it is no sin to be worthily incompetent. Precisely the same attitude is evidenced in the materials prefatory to the Passion, in which it seems that the compiler feels that the Passion is so important that it needs its own mini-*prefacyon* and a restatement of its triple *entent* and *profyte* for Christ, for the writer and for the reader:

> Be these wordys ȝe maye vndyrstande þat I nygthhe faste to the passyon of oure lorde þe whyche ys the chef cause of þys sympyl labore as I behette ȝow. And therfore I beseke þe same mercyful lorde for hys passyon & the prayerys of oure lady, & seyint Ihon euangelyste & alle the holy courte of heuene so bee hys grace to ȝeue me to trete therof as hyt maye bee to hym pleesaunt & acceptable, to me spedeful & merytorye, & to ȝow or eny othyr þat ys be the grace of god to reede hyt or heere hyt edyfycatyf & prophytable. Amen.
>
> And here I praye ȝow of þe same prayere that I askede in þe fyrste chapetele of þys boke, þat ys, iii pater noster, iii Aueys & a crede. (p.198)

To return to the *prefacyon* proper, it contains a full justification in the best scholastic fashion for reworking gospel materials which have already been treated by other writers, such as Bonaventure. The stock argument as used earlier by Chaucer

(see above, pp.55-56; 61-62), who also justified his further retreatment of *matere* on the grounds that all four evangelists treated the same material diversely yet well and profitably, is rehearsed in turn by the Carthusian:

> § Ferthyrmore lest eny man that mygth aftyrwarde rede the boke folowynge schulde conseyue temptacyon that I þat am bot a sympyl man schulde do sueche a werke aftyr so worthy a man as Bonauenture was sygth he wrote of the same matere, hyt mygth be ansueryd to þe satisfaccyon of hys conscyence thus: Ther ben foure euangelyst that wryten of the manhede of oure Lorde Ihesu Cryste, & ȝytt alle wryten wel & trewly, & that one leuyth anothyr supplyeth. Also the doctorys of holy chyrche exponen the same euangelyis þat they wrote diuerse wysys to the conforte of crystyn peple & ȝytt alle ys good to crysten peple & necessarye & profytable. (pp. 4-5)

It is possible to diverge in treatment but be a faithful interpreter of the *matere*, for the *sentence* of the gospels is greater than any one version can contain. Each Life of Christ complements another. They vary according to form, subject matter, and audience, but each has a valid role. Not a single one of the many extant Middle English Lives of Christ merely replicates another or is rendered useless by a successor, or even a predecessor like Love's Mirrour. On the contrary, medieval

commentary-tradition, in the form of 'the doctorys of holy chyrche', recognised the divinely-intended advantages in the multiple retelling of the life of Christ, which could not be adequately embodied for feeble human understanding in one single linear discourse. There is an *entent* behind this principle of retreatment, which is 'profytable', 'confortable' and 'goode'. What better example, licence and encouragement could there be for the compiler of 'another' Life of Christ than the four evangelists themselves and their divinely-sanctioned 'otherness'? As Trevisa's Lord and the Wycliffites argued, there is always room for another retranslation, because each sheds new light on the *matere* (see above, pp.135-6). The writer of the Speculum Devotorum presumably knew full well that his version was different in form, content and flavour from the Meditationes Vitae Christi. This difference justified his work. What Bonaventure 'leuyth', the Speculum Devotorum 'supplyeth'.

Transferring his attention to the issue of intentionality he continues:

> And so thowgth he that wrote fyrste the medytacyonys folowynge were but a sympyl man & of no reputacyon in comparyson of so worthy a clerke as Bonauenture was ȝytt the medytacyonys be the grace of god mowe be ful goode & profytable to devout crystyn soulys, & therfore I hope ther wole none meke & deuot seruaunt of god conseyue mysly therof; for thowgth the werke

> be but symple ȝytt the entent of hym that dede hyt
> was ful goode, & therfore hoso cunne not escuse the
> werke lete hym escuse the entent. (p.5)

This must rank as a classic instance of the policy of security through purity of intention, with the act, 'the werke', being divided from the 'entent'. But there is a further strategy drawn from scholastic literary theory to protect the 'sympyl man', for the *matere* of the meditations, by its own inalienable merits, is profitable. Whatever the Life of Christ and however 'dyuers' or incompetent, the invariant core of its evangelical subject matter will always be necessary to know and edifying. So, paradoxically, there is a double warrant to retranslate, on one hand, on the basis of the *difference* and, on the other, of the *sameness* of the new version.

(iv) A Myrowre to Deuout Peple

Given the deliberate exposition and ascription of an English title to the work for perfectly sound reasons, it is a literary-historical error for us to continue to call this work the Speculum Devotorum. Reflecting the appropriate category in the scholastic prologue, the compiler takes care, in a manner strongly reminiscent of Nicholas Love, to expound his

titulus/nomen libri by briefly summarising the essence, purpose and utility of the work, and at the same time arguing for the suitability of the chosen name.

> § And for the entent of hym that dede hyt was to sympyl, & deuout soulys þat cunne not or lytyl vndyrstonde latyn, & and also for the deuout thynkynge of oure lordys passyon & manhede ys the grounde & the weye to alle trewe deuocyon, thys boke may be callyd a Myrowre to deuout peple. (p.5)

In that the compiler uses the indefinite article (a Myrowre), this may be another sign of humility: his is just another 'Mirror'-book. Whereas The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ has a title centring on *matere*, A Myrowre to Deuout Peple refers to the audience. This does not mean that the works are at odds: the titles could be switched round without harm. Like Love again, he argues for his vernacular title by building up points which go to make up the title. The first half of the argument, up to 'latyn', justifies the inclusion of the words 'deuout peple' in the *nomen libri*, and the rest of the passage explains why the book is worthy of the name 'A Myrowre'. The similarity of method between Love and the Speculum Devotorum in their *nomen libri* passages raises the question whether the writer of the later work had access to the Mirrour, and wanted to follow the precedent of arguing for a title. This might also be supported by the fact that a proem is addressed to a 'gostly syster' and

also a wider audience of simple souls. The Speculum Devotorum refers not to a 'gostly syster' at this point but to a wider audience of 'deuout peple'. The *entent* is to write for simple and devout souls with little or no Latin, and hence no access to the devotional literature inscribed in that tongue.

The term 'thynkynge' is synonymous with 'medytacyon' and 'ymagynacyon'; so there is further good reason for giving the book a mirror-title. The declaration that the meditation of the Sacred Humanity is the ground and way to all true devotion recalls the attitudes of Love, Hilton, the Cloud-author and, indeed, orthodox Pseudo-Dionysian theory of imagination, which regarded such 'thynkynge' as the starting-point and the way to higher contemplation (see above, pp.194-214) . Another reason for the *nomen libri* is the traditional aptness of the mirror-metaphor to a work of comprehensive moral instruction and example. By virtue of its being the 'grounde and the weye to *alle* trewe deuocyon' it is fittingly categorised as 'A Myrowre'. In the choice of title and in the display of reasons for the choice, the Speculum Devotorum firmly positions itself at the commanding and canonical heights of all vernacular religious literature. Though an enormous claim, it is no more than orthodox, correct and credible.

(v) 'Ther maye none be lykned'

Whereas Nicholas Love announced his *nomen libri* as the rhetorical climax of his *proheme*, the Speculum Devotorum takes the opposite tack of moving from the discussion of the title to a substantial passage of authoritative declarations of the supreme position and manifold profitability of the genre of the meditative Life of Christ, a conflated consideration of the *causa finalis/utilitas* and extrinsic importance. Repeatedly the *profyte* (*utilitas* and *entent*) of the meditative *modus agendi* is asserted. In moving and instructing it leads infallibly to virtues, spiritual knowledge, true loving of God and the contemplative sweetness of grace.

> § Ferthyrmore ȝe schal vndyrstande þat the dylygent thynkynge of oure lordys manhede ys a trewe weye wythoute dysseyte to vertuys, & to the gostly knowynge, & trewe louynge of god, & suetnesse in grace to a deuot soule that canne deuoutly & dylygently occupye hym therinne. (p.6)

This orthodox statement is buttressed by recourse to a devotional authority, the so-called 'Orlege of Wysedom', that is the Orologium Sapientiae, which like Hilton and the Cloud-author declares that no one can approach the 'hynesse of the godhede' without first meditating on the 'manhede', for 'thys ys the gate

(i.e. the manner of proceeding) be the whyche an entrynge ys grauntyd to the desyryd ende' (i.e. the final cause) (p.6).

The *entent* is to advance simple soules by *caritas* beyond their simplicity towards 'maystrys'. Citing the 'Orlege of Vysedom' once more, it is stated that:

> The ofte thynkynge of my passyon makyth an vnlernyde man a ful lernyd man; and vnwyse men & ydyotys hyt makyth to profyte into maystrys not of the sciens that bloweth a man wythinne but of charyte that edyfyeth. (pp. 6-7)

Having deployed this Biblical truism to show the supremacy of the Life of Christ from the point of view of its efficacy for the reader, the compiler goes on to compare it in terms of its *matere* to Saints' Lives:

> ...for whatsumeuere parfeccyon maye be founde in seyintys & holy fadrys lyuynge ther maye none be lykned to that, that oure lorde dede in hys owen person, ne so edyfycatyf schulde be to a trewe crystyn soule... (pp.7-8)

The maker of the book comments similarly on the supreme example of the *Vita* later in the work:

> And therfore whatsumeuyre be wryte or seyde of Martyr, confessur, or vyrgine, or of eny othyr trewe seruaunt of god, ther ys none exsample so worthy so prophytable, ne so edyfycatyf schulde be to a crystyn soule as þat oure lorde dede hymselfe. (pp.291-2)

There is simply no comparison: 'ther maye none be lykned'.

There is a yet more profound way in which the meditative Life of Christ is incomparable to all other holy Lives. The imagined Christ is more than a mentally generated image in the imagination. That image is here being given the status of a *signum efficiens* bringing its referent into actuality, and effecting real contact or communion between the imagining subject and Christ-as-*res*. When Christ is imagined the reader's soul moves nearer to God. For the *affectus* to move towards Christ as a *signum* in the imagination is also to move towards *res*, the real Christ. The *entent* is that the devout soul will thereafter follow and be in the company of the real Christ: 'for what maye god ȝeue bettyr to a chosyn soule thanne hymself, & to be wyth hym ther he ys?' (p. 8).

(vi) The Gospel and the *Doctorys*

The Speculum Devotorum names sources in descending order of *auctoritas*, starting with the gospels. To expound the *sentence* of the evangelists properly the writer has gone to the greatest commentators of the age, whose expositions will, at the same time, explicate *and* also constitute the *matere* of the Speculum Devotorum.

> § Ferthyrmore gostly syster ȝe schal vndyrstande that þe grounde of the boke folowynge ys þe gospel & þe doctorys goynge thervpon, & specyally I haue folowyd in þys werke tueyne doctorys of the whyche þat one ys comunely called the Maystyr of storyis & hys boke in englyisch the scole storye that othyr Maystyr Nycholas of Lyre þe whyche was a worthy doctur of dyuynytee & glosyde alle the byble as to the lettural vndyrstandynge, & therfore I take these tueyne doctorys most specyally as to thys werke for they goo neryste to the storye & to the lettural vndyrstandynge of eny doctorys that I haue red. (p.9)

The gospel, then, is the 'grounde' of the book, and the 'doctorys' are always in active contact with it. The Bible is the unmoving ground, and the 'doctorys', in 'goynge thervpon', provide explicatory purchase on that 'grounde'. To obtain the most authoritative version of the life of Christ the two most-

used and highly-valued exegetes of the Middle Ages, Peter Comestor, the sacred historian, and Nicholas of Lyre, the great literal-sense commentator, are used. The *entent* is to get as close as possible to the physical, historical events. These are explained in their historical, geographical and political context by the Master of Histories. The events are expressed by the literal sense of the text of the evangelists. This literal sense, the whole intention of the human authors in expressing their gospels, is what Lyre attempts to elucidate, which is why he is so valuable to the compiler of the Speculum Devotorum.

Other sources are acknowledged, namely moral commentary and divine revelations, which are compiled into his book *ad hoc* according to *entent*:

> I haue browgth inne othyr doctorys in diuerse placys as to the moral vertuys, & also sum reuelacyonys of approuyd wymmen. (pp. 9-10)

It is important that women, who are not allowed to preach or to be priests, and who are not accorded the title of 'doctur', are given 'approuyd' status.

The English writer provides his own expositions *de suo* when there is a self-evident or openly reasonable conclusion or implication to be drawn or extrapolated according to orthodoxy. Otherwise he decorously adds nothing of his 'owen wytt'. As such

he is a commentator, drawing out and elucidating what is latent in his *materiae*.

> I haue put nothynge too of myne owen wytt but that I hope maye trewly be conseyuyd be opyn resun & goode conscyence for that I holde be sykyrest. (p. 10)

'Opyn resun' is the sort of reasoning about the text which proceeds transparently and uncontroversially from it. Earlier in the *prefacyon* he asked for his pure *entent* to be 'escused' (p.5). This declaration of good conscience again secures his activity as ethically sound. However, as with the issue of the preacher's purity of intention having direct consequences on the validity of his sacraments and sermons, the value of the literary product is enhanced by the good conscience of the translator as commentator.

The theme of security through a good conscience is continued, but with a new turn, for the writer adds that he might have included meditations more 'delectable to carnal soulys...more confortable to some carnal folke', but by 'conscyence', which 'ys sykerest' (p.10), he has excluded such imaginings. Why? Perhaps, like Nicholas Love at the end of the Mirrour (p.300), he is worried that some of his meditations may prove irksome by continuance or rather unattractive to those unused to a form of meditative Life which is slowly paced in prose (unlike, say, the racy verse Life in Jesus College Oxford MS 29) and full of thorough explication, moralisation, reflection and exhortation.

The word 'carnal', referring to those who may have been hoping for more 'delectable' imaginations, has negative undertones in contradistinction to the other main adjective used to classify 'soulys', that is 'deuout'. Presumably, this is to bolster up the staying power of possibly-wavering readers, and to trigger off a feeling of guilt the moment that they flagged, so that they would blame not the text but their own evidently 'carnal' dispositions. The strategic propulsion of the 'undelighted' members of the readership towards self-blame is given further impetus by the writer's trumpeting of the crucial role of his own conscience as the 'sykerest' guarantor of the *auctoritas* and/or integrity of himself and his text. It would appear to be the not-very-implicit message that to flag or become inattentive is to be morally or spiritually defective, especially in comparison with the 'fyrste wrytare'.

II. MEDITATION AND VERNACULAR EXPOSITION

(1) The Nature of the Speculum Devotorum

The Speculum Devotorum strongly reflects its Carthusian provenance. It is not adventurous, being based on the Bible, standard commentaries and legendary and devotional works, nearly all of which would be available in the library at Sheen, and also at Sion, its Brigittine Sister House over the Thames.[6] Sheen in the fifteenth century also kept manuscripts containing English works, mainly devotional, including Love's Mirrour, Hilton's Scale of Perfection, fragments of the Northern Passion, The Chastising of God's Children, some other works of Valter Hilton (now lost) and the Pore Caitif.

We noted above how the writer of the Speculum Devotorum in the *prefacyon* declared the gospels to be the ground of the work, with the doctors, namely Nicholas of Lyre and Peter Comestor, 'goynge thervpon' (p.9). The next most important source is the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus a Voragine, followed by patristic works, the most notable of which are by St Augustine and Gregory the Great. Next in importance come St Bridget of Sweden, St Catherine of Siena, and Mechthild of Hackeborn-Vippra. Others cited are Bede, Bernard, Bonaventure, Adam the Carthusian, Henry Suso and Walter Hilton.[7] Also used are John of Hildesheim, the Miracles of the Virgin, Thomas of Cantimpré, and Sir John Mandeville. As one would expect of a Carthusian, none of these sources is

adventurous, highly technical or avant-garde. Like Love's Mirrour, the Speculum Devotorum is a very conservative meditative Life of Christ; but it differs from the Mirrour in the greater extent to which it is a *compilatio* in its mode of excerption. Whereas the Mirrour is very largely rendered from one source, the Speculum Devotorum has a core of gospel *matere* expounded through commentaries (notably Lyre, Comestor and the Legenda Aurea), which explicate the literal and the historical sense. Other writers, like the 'approuyd wymmen' (p.10) and the Gospel of Nichodemus, are drawn on for moralisation and for providing narrative and meditation not to be found in the gospels, for example relating to the details of the Nativity and Infancy, the Harrowing of Hell, and the non-evangelical appearances of the risen Christ to the Virgin Mary. The work is very much an enclosed woman's book encouraging *compassio* (and *imitatio*) *Mariae* dealing with key events in the *vita* from Mary's point of view. The Passion is divided appropriately according to the canonical hours. With only five chapters devoted to the Ministry of Christ, the Speculum Devotorum, like the Legenda Aurea and the Stanzaic Life of Christ, concentrates on the parts of the *vita* which reflect the main feasts of the Church year, the book being able to be used accordingly if desired. So, sources are excerpted and combined in order to render a particular *expositio sententie*, according to the *intentio* of the compiler-commentator-preacher, for his chosen audience.

Moreover, the ultimate source, the gospels, are oriented towards an intended form, that is, the traditional cycle of *lectio*, that is, vernacular narration (*narratio*), expository meditation (*meditatio* or *þynkynge*) and prayerful exhortation (*oratio* or *prayere*), a process which involves the use of a range of compiled sources.[9] The general *manere* of the work follows these lines. A chapter starts with a reminder of the essence of the previous chapter, just as the previous chapter may point forwards to its successor. Firstly, the literal sense of gospels is translated closely, or more periphrastically if a commentary is flavouring the rendering, or in a harmonised form if the writer is drawing from more than one gospel. This is followed by a more protracted meditative exposition or elaboration of the gospel events, drawing on commentary-tradition, normally Lyre, Comestor, the Legenda Aurea or other material like, say, a homily of Gregory the Great or a revelation of St Bridget. Such materials may also aid the subsequent shift into prayer or, more often, a prayerful exhortation to apply the lessons of the chapter morally or spiritually.

Even the most superfluous or digressive *matere* appended to the gospel is part and parcel of the process of the translating of the life of Christ into vernacular culture. Such 'additions' are as important to the making of the translation as the competent rendering of grammar and syntax. It would be pointless and incorrect to separate the two. The added materials are used to

refract and bias the *matere* of the gospels, and to give them a chosen *forma tractandi*.

(ii) Opening Latin

Just as there is a variety in the types of *materiae* drawn on in rendering the *sentence* so also is there a variety in treatment of them, albeit governed by a unity of *entent* expressed through the formal cycle of *lectio*/narration, meditative explication and prayerful exhortation. Sometimes the rendering is periphrastic and conflates sources, or is selective in choosing a meaning congruent to the aims of the compiler and suppressing another. At other times the rendering, be it of gospel matter or of other materials, is a close rendering of the *sensus literalis* or almost verbatim. In the first two chapters of the Speculum Devotorum there is a tendency to quote the Latin of the Vulgate, then to translate it very closely, then, if necessary, more openly, and then to extrapolate in the manner of the commentator for the purposes of developing meditation and an understanding of the Biblical events.

In the first chapter the Creation and Fall are expounded, ever with a view to the coming of Christ and the Redemption of Man. The particular passage below deals with the nature of the Creation:

...& in the sexte daye he made the firste man the whyche ys callyd Adam, & he made hym of sclyme of the erthe as to the body as we rede in the fyrste boke of holy wryt þe whyche ys callyd genesys where hyt ys wryte thus: Formauit dominus deus hominem de limo terre; thys ys to seye: Oure lorde god made man of the sclyme of the erthe. (p.22)

The text and its location in the original are properly cited. The translation is close, and easy to understand, the only addition being the traditional formulaic prefixing of 'oure' to 'dominus deus', in 'oure lorde god'. The next translation requires a second more *opyn* rendering in order to clarify the literal sense.

Et inspirauit in faciem eius spiraculum vite; thys ys to seye: And he inspyryd in hys face þe spyracle of lyf, þe whyche ys no more to oure vndyrstandynge opyn but that he made & put in the same body that he hadde formyd of the erthe a resunnable spiryt... (p.22)

The transliterative words 'inspyryd' and 'spyracle' scarcely make the meaning of the source clearer for the intended audience, and so a more periphrastic comment is necessary, the English writer making the point that a rational soul was combined with a body

made of the slime of the earth. There is then a further gloss on this subject:

> ...a resunnable spiryt, the whyche ys of thre pryncipal mygthtys, þat ys to seye of Mynde, Resun, & wylle, to the lyknesse of the holy trynytee, the whyche ys oo parfyth god,...(p.22)

This particular gloss is taken from a vernacular work, the Scale of Perfection of Walter Hilton.

> The soul of man is a life with three powers - memory, understanding. and will - made in the image and likeness of the Blessed Trinity. [9]

In the Cambridge manuscript of the Speculum Devotorum the Canon of Thurgarton is referred to as '*Maistre* Walter Hyltoun' (Hogg, variants, p.29), that is as a *magister*, which status is second only to that of a fully-fledged *auctor*. The forty-third chapter of Book I of the Scale deals with the excellence and dignity which man's soul first had, and the beastly wretchedness it lapsed into at the Fall. Though I have duly quoted the use of the word 'memory' from Sitwell's modernization it should be pointed out that Hilton uses the term 'mind', as does his follower, the Monk of Sheen. The Speculum Devotorum then ceases to use the Scale so closely but instead makes its point through further citation of Genesis:

...for hyt ys wryte in the forseyde boke of genesys thus: Et creauit deus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem suam; thys ys to seye: And god made man to hys owen ymage and lyknesse, vndyrstondyth as to the soule. (pp.22-23)

It is not until the end of this chapter that Hilton's text is picked up again verbatim. The tenor of this whole chapter of the Speculum Devotorum is generally consonant with Hilton as regards the beastly nature of the Fall, though the later work stresses this beastliness more than its predecessor. Further related material from Hilton, discussing the nature of original sin, is used to round off the chapter;[10] yet, at first sight, one could be forgiven for thinking that the Speculum Devotorum is not drawing on a work like the Scale but merely doing some of its own extrapolatory rendering of a Biblical text. Paradoxically, the very Latin of the Psalter, here used for the purpose of commentary on Genesis, has its immediate source not in the Vulgate but in the vernacular work.

Of þys fallynge of the fyrste man Dauyd seyt in the sautyr thus: Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis; thys ys in englyisch: Man whenne he was in worschype vndyrstode hyt not, & therfore he loste hyt; he ys lykened to vnwyse bestys, þat ys, to

vnresunnable bestys be carnal beholdynge, & made lyke to hem in bestly louynge of hymself & othyr creatures vycyusly. (p.28)

...for as David said in the psalter: *Homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit; comparatus est jumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis* (Ps. xlviii.13) Man knew not when he had nobility, and therefore he lost it and was made like a beast.''

The words 'louynge of hymself & othyr creatures vycyusly' comes from a statement of Hilton's a little earlier, 'Adam sinned, choosing to squander his love on himself and creatures'.'[2] It is worthy of note that a vernacular work has attained the status of a commentary, used in the same way as Lyre or Comestor. The *sentence* of what is said is extremely important. Such confidence in the *auctoritas* of vernacular texts would indicate that a similiar authority was hoped for or expected in the Speculum Devotorum itself.

Immediately subsequent to this, and, departing from Hilton, the monk of Sheen reminds his audience that an angel threw Adam and Eve out of Paradise to live in sorrow on earth and to suffer death. Having mentioned this terrible price for original sin, the chapter closes suitably, with further recourse to the Scale, which reminds us how Christ's passion, which constitutes the climax of the Speculum Devotorum, restored Humanity.

Alle thys was for the fyrste synne of man the whyche ys callyd orygynal; for the whyche synne as Hylton seyt we mygth neuyr haue be sauyd thowgth we hadde neuyr doo othyr venyal ne deedly, but only thys that ys called orygynal for hyt ys the fyrste synne, & that ys nothynge ellys but lesynge of þe rygthwysenesse þe whyche we were made inne but yf oure lorde Ihesu cryste be hys precyouse passyon hadde delyueryd vs & restoryd vs aȝen. (p.29)

It is the misery of the soul and the harm causd by man's first sin, not to mention all the other evil and sins that you have voluntarily added. And be sure of this, even though you had never committed a venial or mortal sin, but only incurred this which is called original - for it is the first sin and is nothing else than the loss of the justice in which you were created - you would never have been saved, if our Lord Jesus Christ by His precious passion had not redeemed and restored you again.'[8]

To understand the meaning and purpose of the life of Christ, it is necessary to understand the Fall. Just as the Psalter was used for commentary on Genesis, so too are other Biblical materials employed to elucidate the relationship between the Old and New Testaments, the Fall and the Redemption, as with the

following citation in Chapter II of the Apostle Paul, who in his Epistles was regarded as a commentator on the gospels. Again the Latin of the original is quoted, and again the exposition grows from it.

> ...that rygth as we dyde in Adam, so we mygth lyue aȝen in cryste, as seyint Poule wytnessyth seyinge thus: Sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in christo omnes viuificabuntur; thys ys in englyisch: Forsothe rygth as alle men dyen in Adam, so alle schul be quyked in cryste. (p.32)

Having cited this retrospective *auctoritas*, a universal statement from the perspective of the New Testament looking back on the Old, there then follows, to balance it, a passage in which are discussed the prefigurations of Christ, moving prophetically in the opposite direction, from the Old Testament to the New:

> Alle thys was betokened afore be sygnys fygurys & prophecyis, for hyt was worthy that so excellent a werke schulde be betokenyd afore. And fyrste be sygnys & figurys in patryarkys, of the whyche I schal telle ȝow one to ȝoure confort that was schewde loonge afore þe lawe be the hooly patryarke Abraham & hys sone Ysaac. (pp.32-33)

He then proceeds to tell this story, albeit summarily, and after it the story of the rod of Aaron, which is particularly suitable for, in that the rod burgeoned without moistness of the earth, it betokens the Virgin Mary, an affective focus for the reader of this work (pp.34-35). For the same reason the prophecy of Isaiah that a virgin would conceive and bear a son, Emmanuel, is also cited (p.36).

It is declared that all the other Old Testament prefigurations of Christ are omitted because the signs he has included 'here I hope suffyce as for example' (p.36). This acknowledgement of omission, itself a scholarly habit, is repeated a little later, which would indicate that the translator does not want the citation of prophecies to proliferate; rather he just wants his audience to know and to believe that every significant event in the actual *Vita* is buttressed by a network of Old Testament typology, which is why he specifies the key events of Christ's life below:

> And also manye othyr prophecIys were seyde before by the same prophete and othyre of the incarnacyon, the byrthe, passyon, resurrecyon, & ascencyon of oure lorde Ihesu cryste, & also of the comynge of the holy goste the whyche were to loonge to telle here, but thys that I haue compendyusly seyde I trowe be inowgth as for example, for hyt was resunnable as I

> haue forseyde þat so excellent werkys schulde be betokenyd & prophecyed afore. (pp.36-37)

Though the 'gostly syster' may not know the individual prefigurations of Christ, she now knows not only that there were many of them, but also in what manner they were made and may be expounded, as a 'genre'. The prophecies, coming as they do before the narration of the Life of Christ proper, are also a way of enhancing the authoritative status of that Life as the centrepiece and *raison d'être* of the Bible, for the works of the *Vita* are 'so excellent' that they generate such betokenings. The example of prophecies adds weight and authority to the meditations, and serves to heighten their affective impact. That prophecies are important to the *vita* proper is manifested when the compiler takes care, in Chapter XXX, to tell how the risen Christ practised typographical self-exegesis for the benefit of an audience of the Patriarchs who prefigured Him:

> And thanne he be gan att Moyses and all the prophetys and expoynde to hem in alle the scripturys þat were of hym. (Wilsher, p.355)

After Chapter II there is little use of the technique of quotation of Latin with the English explication growing out of it in stages. Nevertheless there is still a close attention paid to the text of the Vulgate and elaboration through the use of commentaries.

But it is not always the Vulgate that is quoted and rendered. In the case below, a translation is made of a text from an unknown author, which is cited in the passage dealing with Christ's wish that workmen, these being preachers, should be sent into the Lord's cornfield. '[4] The problem in the time of the writer of the Speculum Devotorum is that there are no 'precharys in wordys & werkys...nowadyis'. Evidently, as a preacher himself, this was a matter of concern, and a moralisation of some *sentence* is to be drawn from the Bible. In an earlier lengthy passage (pp.156-7) Lyre has already been invoked in support of the same *expositio sententie*, 'for Lyre seyth vpon the same texste that to teche wel & luye euylle ys nothyng ellys thanne to dampne hymself be hys owen voyce'. In the extract below, the rendering is rhetorically adept:

> ...for thowgth ther ben manye precharys as hyt semyth nowadayis in wordys, ther ben but fewe thowgth in werkys as a devout man seyth in metre thus: Multos habemus doctores, sed paucissimos factores, in vita mortalium; þys ys in englyisch: We haue manye doctorys, but rygth fewe doarys, in the lyf of deedly men. (p.173)

The balance of inflexions in the Latin 'multos...factores' as against paucissimos factores' rhetorically heightens the antithesis. An equivalent effect is achieved by a combination of

alliteration on 'd' in the words 'doctorys' and 'doarys' (echoically supported by 'deedly') and on the inflexions of the same two English nouns, suffixes which approximate sufficiently closely to those of the Latin original. The rendering is both close, and stylishly retains the epigrammatic sententiousness of the source.

Another interesting exception to this abandonment of the earlier technique of citing the Latin in the English work occurs in Chapter XXV, when Nichodemus, with the best of intentions, mistakenly brings ointment for the body of the crucified Christ. The Speculum Devotorum draws on an apposite statement from the Psalter, as refracted through the commentary of Lyre on John XIX, which like the Speculum Devotorum (p.296), also explains how Nichodemus was a secret disciple of Christ before the passion, who declared himself through fervour after the event:

> And in thys hyt semyth þat Nychodemus thowgh he hadde made that vnement of deuocyon ȝytt hyt semyth as Lyre seyth þat he hadde not ful knowynge of oure lorde Ihesu cryste, for hyt ys wryte of hym in the fyuethe psalme of þe sautyr thus: Non dabis sanctum tuum, videre corrupcionem; thys ys in englyisch: Thow schalt not ȝeue thy seyint to see corrupcyon; thys ys to seye in more opyn englyisch: Thow schalt not suffre thy seyint, þat ys the body of oure lorde Ihesu cryste the whyche was holy & oned to the

godhede vndepartably to see corrupcyon; þat ys to seye to rote in the erthe as synful mennys bodyis doen, & therfore hyt nedyde not sueche an vnemant to kepe hyt fro rotynge. (p.297)

¶ FERENS MIXTURAM MYRHE ET ALOES QUASI LIBRAS CENTUM.
Iste etiam nicodemus ante passionem christi sicut ioseph erat christi discipulus occultus: sed post passionem ex feruore se manifestauit sicut et ioseph. Sciendum etiam quod licet ex devotione istam vnctionem faceret: videtur tunc quod plenam noticiam de christi resurrectione non haberet. quia de eo erat scriptum ps. xv.c. Non dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. propter quod non indigebat vnctione conservate [*sic*] a putrefactionem. (fol.240ʳ)

Quotation, close translation, gloss and extrapolation are all dovetailed smoothly into each other without strain, as is typical with this work. The combination of close and *opyn* translation gives access to the Latin itself for someone of minimal linguistic competence. To a reader with no Latin, the close *ad verbum* rendering gives a trustworthy flavour of Latinity. Rhetorically, the passage gives a sense of approaching by *gradatio* towards *sentence* each time the source is reprocessed at another expository level. This method is particularly suitable for a ruminative meditative work, whose reader is meant to linger on *matere*, and re-treat it in the mind.

(iii) '3e maye thynke ordynatly': Vernacular Meditation for an Enclosed Woman

There were proper ways in which to imagine the Sacred Humanity; including a fixed iconic image of His physical appearance and demeanour (even including His sandals) to be re-applied to all subsequent meditations (pp.148-9). At the beginning of Chapter VII the *gostly syster* is instructed to order her meditation according to the dictates of Holy Church:

> Aftyr the cyrcumcysyon of oure lorde Ihesu cryste 3e maye thynke ordynatly aftyr þe forme of holy chyrche anothyr fayre medytacyon of the apparysyon or the apperynge of oure lorde. (p.91)

The word 'thynke', meaning 'meditate', designates an act of will that is both obedient to Holy Church, yet independent, for the reader 'maye' thynke, if she so wills it. To 'thynke ordynatly aftyr þe forme of holy chyrche' means to meditate following the *ordinatio* of the feasts of the Church year, according to which this book may be read, if the reader is so moved. In that this is 'anothyr' meditation, the principle of *divisio* is being observed, each meditation forming a coherent and self-sufficient textual unit related to other chapters by an *ordo naturalis* following not only the order of Christ's Life but also the Church year, as also evidenced in a similar statement at the start of Chapter IX (p.122). The form of Holy Church presumably also

encompasses the orthodox expositions of the gospels, especially as they relate to the enclosed life and such things as the meaning of the sacraments. For example, the Speculum Devotorum is vehement in condemnation of 'sueche as byn synglere' (p.112) in disobedience to Holy Church. Also important is it that the meditations should be attractive, 'fayre' to the beholder to help stir her *affecciouns*. Note the clarificatory Anglicising gloss 'apparyson or apperynge', which as a doublet is a common translator's technique, here applied to a borrowed word which is not actually taken from a particular foreign source, but which might be a little unfamiliar to the simple readership, even though it is used as if an English word.

The writer is most concerned to employ not only the proper *matere* but also the proper *manere* or *forme*. At a number of points throughout the work he intrudes on his text, gives instruction to his reader, and makes comments which reveal the orthodox literary-theoretical assumptions underpinning his supervision of the vernacular meditation of an enclosed woman.

Meditation, to be sure, is generated, like translation, from the literal sense which expresses the events to be imagined. The monk of Sheen is a conscientious literal-sense exegete typical of his time, aware of the relevant niceties of theory, not for their own sake, but as they pertain to the pragmatics of reader response. This is well-illustrated in his discussion of the

utilitas of the name of Jesus, in which he acknowledges the devotional significance and function of this name:

> Thys ys the name that ys so suete & confortable to the louyers of god; for as seyint Bernarde seyth hyt ys hony in the mowthe, melody in the ere...(pp.88-89)

This closely renders the Latin of Bernard, as quoted in the Legenda Aurea.[16] The passage continues until the yet higher authority of the Apostle Paul is reached:

> And in the name of Ihesu euyry kne be bowed of heuenely thyngys, erthely & helly, as seynt Poule seyt: & ther ys no name vndyr heuene vntake thys that we maye be sauyd by, as the same apostyl seyt. (pp.89-90)

The writer, at first sight, appears to be discoursing on the power of the name *per se*; but he then makes a most important theoretical distinction between the nominal *signans* and its referent. Dismissing onomastic mysticism, he warns his reader not to invest belief in the power of the name *qua nomine*, but rather to be in mind of what that name refers to:

> ...alle thys commendacyon of the name of Ihesu & myche othyr that ys seyde & maye be seyde therof vndyrstandyth yt not symply and barely for thys name

Ihesu cryste I wryte or spoke, but for hym that ꝑys worschypful name betokenyth the whyche ys oure blysful lorde Ihesu cryste god and man the sauyoure of mankynde to whom thys suete name ys specyally & trewly apropryed, & therfore hyt ys so suete to the louyers of god & of so gret vertu as ys forseyde.

(p.90)

As with the holy name, so is it with both meditation and translation, each a mode of exposition treating of things and events, the realities designated by the language and intentionality of the sources, the Lyrean *sententia litterae*. A kind of medieval 'imaginative dramatic realism', proceeding from the literal sense, motivates the reader to observe and feel the events as if she were there, and even to imagine herself participating in those events, thereby being an agent in the narrative, and phenomenologically both subject and object. In Chapter V are the following instructions on how to translate the gospel events into the imagination and how to translate the subject into the imaginative *mise-en-scène*.

In alle these thyngys kepyth ȝowself present as thowgth ȝe seygth al thys done afore ȝow; & ymagynyth also what reuerence worschype & seruyse ȝe wolde haue doo there to oure lorde, to oure lady, & to Ioseph, & how hertyly haue thankyth oure lorde for thys gret benefeet I doo to mankynde & also how gladly ȝe

> cowthe suffre pouertee & penaunce for hys loue þat thus myche toke & suffrede for ȝow, for sueche affeccyonys ben rygth profytable & merytorye; & thys maye be the medytacyon of oure lordys byrthe. (p.83)

The reader is to play a suitably servile role in her imagination. Note that the transition from *meditatio* to *oratio* commencing with the exhortation '& how hertyly haue thankyth oure lorde' follows on immediately from the preceding text in such a way as to impel the reader to thank the imagined Christ as He is currently realised as a child in her mind, with herself still a dramatic character. Here, there is no transcendent leaving behind of the meditation in the movement to prayerfulness. To thank the Lord heartily has *utilitas* and gives the soul merits as 'rygth profytable & merytorye'. These merits and fruits owe themselves indubitably to an understanding of the literal sense of the gospel as treated in the imagination by the *affeccIouns*.

Imaginative elaboration may also be used to compensate for the 'gaps' left by the compiler, who may not cover the whole gospel story, for some episodes from the *Vita* have been omitted. Not all of the miracles of Jesus are narrated, and even then, apart from a cursory treatment of the changing of the water into wine, they are mentioned very summarily (p.176), or, if narrated at any length, they are expounded allegorically, the water's transformation to wine being paralleled with the soul's turning 'fro þe suetnesse of deuocyon into brennynge loue and

affeccyon' (pp.175-6). Each of three dead people raised by Jesus corresponds to degrees of sinners (pp.190-4). Care is taken to argue that it is not necessary, in an imaginative Life of Christ, to tell of all the miracles. The shortness which the *modus excerptoris* has imposed on the evangelical *matere* is balanced by the long drawing out of the *matere* which has been selected for incorporation into the Speculum Devotorum:

> ...and manye othyre myraclys he wrowthte to schewe hys godhede & to brynge men to þe rygth feythe of þe whyche summe I haue tolde ȝow in general wordys for hyt were to longe to make a medytacyon of euyryche werke þat the euangelystys telle of oure lorde & also I trowe hyt nede not for a deuout soule maye be þe grace of god draue thys þat ys schortly seyde into loonge medytacyon yf he wole & be dysposyd þerto be grace; but ȝytt not wythstandynge I wole telle ȝow some werkys þat oure lorde dede in specyal to ȝoure more conforte in hym & that ȝe maye the bettyr thynke othyre. (p.177)

There is enough in the meditations on miracles of Jesus in the English work to establish an appreciation that Jesus has fully demonstrated 'hys godhede'. The 'general wordys' which summarise cursorily the other miracles point towards the same *sentence* as the miracles included for meditation. The compiler's cutting has occurred at the level of *verba* but not at the all-important level

of *sentence*. Why does the compiler say that he will narrate some works so 'that ȝe maye the bettyr thynke othyre'? It is another, slightly different, form of compensation for the translator's aforementioned non-comprehensiveness and cuts. Whereas the previous point on this issue centred on 'general' *matere*, this second justification centres on the re-applicability of meditative form. The reader, having learnt the proper form of meditation for the miracles mentioned, can then proceed to 'othyre' works of Jesus omitted from the Speculum Devotorum. Paradoxically, however, the reader is still guided and governed by the *manere* of the work. The *utilitas* or *profyte* of the Speculum Devotorum is that it is as universally re-useable in its *manere* as in its sententious *matere*. Indeed, its *manere* or *forme* can be applied beyond the *ipsissima verba* of the Speculum Devotorum to *matere* outside the English work. In a way the work is self-transcending.

So conscious is the compiler of the importance of his *forma tractandi* that, although he is rendering the literal sense of the source closely he still finds it necessary to explain that the forms of revelation and narration of the of the source are being overgone in the process of vernacularisation by his own imposed 'forme of medytacyon', with a concomitant change of *persona* and voice. Commenting on his rendering of Brigittine materials, in this case her version of the Crucifixion, he points out that:

> ...sche tellyth hyt in here owen persone as sche seygth hyt doo þe whyche I turne here into the forme of medytacyon not goynge be the grace of god fro the menynge of here wordys. (p.267)

Ever the good follower of the *entent* of the 'lettural vnderstondynge', the translator, in keeping faith with the literal sense, is free to shift form. As usual, he invokes the grace of God to aid his literary activity.

One central feature of the tradition of meditation on the gospels with interesting theoretical implications is the issue of whether and how to imagine events not explicit in the evangelists, and also any apparently contradictory accounts in them. The comment just discussed above involves a case in point, because in the Speculum Devotorum there is a version of the Crucifixion attributed to the evangelists and another based on the revelations of Bridget. The difference between them is not seen as embarrassing, for Sion was a Brigittine house, and the revelations of the saint would have carried an authority of their own in one of her own nunneries. Both versions are included in the Speculum Devotorum, the first telling how Christ was nailed to the cross lying on the ground, the second, Brigittine, version, has Christ ascending the cross and stretching out his arm willingly on the cross to be nailed. In the ostensibly non-interventionist manner of medieval compilation both versions are separately rehearsed, under the following rubric.

How & in what wyse oure lorde was crucyfyed the euangelystys make no mencyon in specyal but in general. Wherefore I wole telle ȝow too manyrys, whyche of hem maye beste styre ȝow to deuocyon that takyth. (p.266)

Where the evangelists did not go, the imagination may elaborate. Both versions are fruitful, but the choice between them is left to *lectoris arbitrium*. Though the Carthusian of Sheen admits that the first meditation on the manner of crucifixion 'ys oo wyse as I trowe some deuout men haue ymagynyd' (p.267), he loyally recommends the Brigittine version in preference to the other:

> § Anothyr wyse ȝe maye thynke hyt aftyr seyint Brygyttys reuelacyon & þat I holde sykyrer to lene to, & þat ȝe maye thynke thus. (p.267)

The crafty use of the word 'sykyrer' implicitly undermines the trustworthiness of the first version.

In his intrusions, the maker of the Speculum Devotorum, like Nicholas Love, very much wears his orthodox theoretical and ideological heart on his sleeve, especially with regard to the allowability of meditation in 'uncertain cases'. The problem of what and how to meditate is a question of what and how to

translate. For example, when the angel greets Mary, what is (so the translator argues), meant but not said in the Bible becomes what is expressed in the vernacular.

> § Now thanne beholdyth deuoutly how the angil entryth in the forseyde cytee of Nazareth...he salutyth as seyint Ierom seytth. And thanne he seyith thys fayre salutacyon to here: Hayle Marye ful of grace (thys worde Marye thowth ys not there in the texte but hyt ys vndyrstonde & sone aftyr expressyd). (p.40)

The Middle English usage of the word 'there' is more emphatically locative than in modern English, meaning something like 'at this particular point', and not just 'present'. The translator is anxious to point out that the name 'Marye' is expressed elsewhere in this passage, and, in terms of literal-sense intentionalism, is 'vndyrstonde' and therefore transferrable within the angel's address. Of course, the really decisive pressure forcing this rendering is intertextual, the familiar and traditional authority of the formula Aye Maria. Here the translator himself is thinking 'ordynatly aftyr the forme of holy chyrche' (p.91).

At other times a complementary, but still pious and theoretically respectable, indefiniteness or vagueness as to the exact form of words not fully indicated in the sources feeds through to an imprecision concerning the particular words to be

used in the vernacular meditation. For example, the grief of Mary for her crucified son is described in these terms: '...wyth mychе lamentacyon sche lyftyth vp here handys seyinge sueche manyr wordys or lyke' (p.284), and again a little later, 'sueche manyr wordys or lyke' (p.285), and once more:

> And in seyinge of sueche manyr wordys as beforseyde or lyke þat mowen mekely be conseyuyd in a deuout soule aftyr the forme of medytacyon ȝe maye thynke sche fylle downe...(p.286)

Affeccioun and devotion will generate permissible *verba*, which are acknowledged as not being verbally present in the text. But this does not matter. What does matter is the disposition of the will. Even though the words of the Virgin are invented, they are allowable. In fact, the self-conscious indefiniteness of this passage is a sign of theoretical conscientiousness, for no words are presented as authoritative or authentic. The compiler is not so cautious about non-authentic *matere*, nor has he always the need to be, because he often has the familiarity of tradition with him. For example, the non-Biblical Longinus is included in the *narratio* as if he were evangelically factual (p.286).

The problem of the inauthentic and the non-evangelical produces some interesting presentation of *matere*. This is reflected in the *ordinatio* in Chapter XXX, in which five gospel appearnces of Jesus are expounded before the five appearances

unrecorded in the Bible. It obviously mattered because the compiler offers the following comment:

> Now I wole telle ȝow fyrste be the grace of god schortly of the fyue apperyngys þat were doo þe same daye of the resurreccyon þat the euangelystys make mencyon of. and to what personys they were and how. and aftyr hem of othyre too þat be not in the texte of the gospellys. (Wilsher, p.348)

The *ordinatio* of *auctoritas* overgoes the *ordo naturalis* which is otherwise the principle of harmonising a Life of Christ.

There is an important difference between those narratives which, on the one hand, are untrue, and therefore not to be allowed to be imagined, and those which, on the other hand, are unverifiable, which may be true, and which may be imagined for the purpose of devout meditation only. The maker of the book is firm in his rejection of certain *matere* from 'Nychodemys euangelye':

> § What oure lorde dede there or what wordys he hadde to hem or they to hym or what songys of preysynge there were seyde or songe in hys presence hyt maye not sykyrly be seyde but yf a man hadde hyt be specyal reuelacyon; but ȝytt Nychodemys euangelye makyth mencyon what he dede there but for hyt ys not

autentyke & also for the forseyde doctur Lyre prouyth hyt euydently false be autoryte of holy wryt & seyingys of othyre doctorys I ouyrpasse hyt & wole not pote sueche thynge here þat ys so vnsykyr & mygthte be cause of erroure to sympyl creaturys. But thys ȝe maye thynke for certayne þat they were in parfyth ioye in hys presence as ys forseyde, & in more ioye þan eny deedly man maye seye... (pp.312-13)

Having deprived his audience of such detailed meditative narrative, the maker of the work gives his readership something else instead for their *affecciouns* to latch onto - the credible statement that the long-waiting souls trapped in Hell were in a state of perfect joy inexpressible in mortal discourse. This is a correct comment according to orthodox medieval theory of imagination, because no corporeal discourse or fleshly imaginations can do justice to the reality of subtances in Heaven or, as here, those in Hell. The joy of the souls really is inexpressible: this is no mere topos. A different approach, however, is taken to the same 'gospel of nychodeme' in the case of the non-authentic appearance of Christ to Joseph of Arimathea:

Thys apperynge ys red in the gospel of nychodeme as ys forseyde. but for hyt ys not autentyke as I haue tolde ȝow a fore in the xxviii chapetele I commytte hyt to the dome of the redare whedyr he wole admytte hyt or none. (Wilsher, p.361)

This *matere* is subjected to the judgement of the reader; responsibility is disavowed. All that is offered is a compiler's *recitatio*.

That Jesus's first appearance after the Resurrection was to his mother cannot be substantiated from the text of the gospels. A touching and orthodox belief in the significance of evangelical silence motivates the compiler to advertise as 'stable & serteyne' that Christ appeared first of all to His mother. This is made canonical through the form of Holy Church, as expressed in the Stations of the Cross, and as cited in an authoritative *compilatio*, the Legenda Aurea.'" This is also buttressed by the 'opyn resun & goode conscyence' (*prefacyon*, p.10) of the monk of Sheen:

> Othyre thre apparycyonys ther be the whyche be tolde to haue falle also the same daye of þe resurreccyon but they be not in the texste of the gospellys. Of the whyche one ys þat oure lorde schulde haue apperyd fyrste to hys modyr oure lady seyint Marye; & þat ys rygth resunnably seyde to my vndyrstondynge. And þat as hyt semyth the chyrche of Rome approuyth þe whyche the same daye of the ressurreccyon halowyth a stacyon att a chyrche of oure lady in Rome as Ianuense seyth in the legende þat ys callyd aurea. (p.318)

There is also a powerful theological argument why Christ appeared to Mary first. It would be inconsistent of God to break His own commandment to honour one's parents, and God can never be inconsistent; therefore He keeps this commandement 'in hys owen persone' (p.319). As well as a theological logic being drawn on to argue this point, a devotional logic, which has implications for the role of the reader, is also invoked. So, not only is there authority in the evangelists' silence, there is also an authority in the exemplary quality of the Blessed Virgin's devotion:

> § And for oure lady ys the wordyest persone of alle othyre, & also for oure lorde apperyde fyrste to here as ȝe maye mekely beleue wythoute eny dowte thowght the euangelystys make no mencyon therof; for Ianuense seyth þat the euangelistys wolde not wryte hyt, but they lefte hyt as for stabyl & sertayne. As ho seyth, they knewe hyt so opyn þat hyt nedyde not to wryte hyt, for they wyste wele inowf that eny man or woman þat hadde resunnable wytt mygthte wel wyte þat he apperyde fyrste to here, for hyt ys no doute þat sche was moste sory for hys deth, & therfore sche nedyde moste the conforte of hys gloryus resurreccyon. (pp.318-9)

Mary's devotion and love for the Sacred Humanity earn her an appearance. The same attitude is recommended for the enclosed

woman for the same purpose of beholding Christ. Mary, a role-model for the female reader, sits 'in mount Syon for there ȝe maye thynke sche abode stylle' (p.319), waiting for Jesus, like the *gostly syster* at meditation in the English Sion, an allusion that would be particularly potent for the intended reader. Both the Blessed Virgin and the *gostly syster* gain the company of the Lord by virtue of their love, compassion and presence at the Nativity, Infancy, Passion, be it in historical reality or by meditating on the historical sense.

Not only has Mary an exemplary meditative role, she also has an authorial role as an 'auctrix' behind the evangelical *auctores*, for it was she who told them the details of the Nativity and Infancy. Instead of going straight to Heaven with her risen son, she stayed on earth and fulfilled her authorial role, 'to the informynge of the euangelystys of the incarnacyon. and the ȝougthe of oure lorde. for sche knewe þat best of alle othyre' (Wilsher, p.378). And so, Mary has a real efficient causality in this work, not only in the gospel material, but also in the revelations to approved women like St Bridget.

This work is rendered as a woman's work, and therefore it translates according to the male priest's assumptions as to what sort of *matere* and *manere* applies to the intended female reader. The *matere* of the gospels is expounded with a view to the assumed predispositions of the womanly *affecciouns*, the most important appeal being made to the sympathetic imagining of motherhood to

Christ, from the conception through the whole Life, including the Nativity, Infancy, Passion and Resurrection. Such materials are not to be regarded as mere additions; they are utterly central to the exposition of the affective *sentence* of the *Vita*. The meditation on the Nativity is a case in point. Here, the birth is recounted summarily (pp.72-73); but expounded at the next stage of *meditatio* by recourse to 'Brygytt', who is credited with further opening the gospel by revelation (as Lyre further opens it by commentary):

> § 3ytt more opynly how oure lorde was borne & alle the manyr therof oure lady schewde to seyint Brygytt ful fayre be reuelacyon, the whyche sche tellyth thus:... (p.73)

The extraordinary and loving detail and preoccupation with anatomical and practical minutiae in the subsequent meditation are designed to have a considerable affective impact on the female reader. Care is taken to show that Mary has 'too smale lynnyn clowtys & too clene wollen clothys þat sche hadde browgth wyth here to wrappe inne the chylde' (p.74) at the ready before the birth. As in the Mirrour she does not, like other medieval women, squat to give birth but stands upright in dignified prayer and spiritual ecstacy, without pain, and swathed in light (pp.75-76). The child appears on the ground before her, 'rygth clene fro alle manyr felthe & vnclennesse', as is the 'skynne þat hyt cam out in lyinge besyde hym wrappyd togyderys & rygth schynynge'

(p.76). She addresses Him tenderly (pp.76-77). There follows a passage of considerable affective detail which would have presumably had some impact on the intended reader in its tender, sympathetic and pious maternal detail:

> ...wyth gret honeste & reuerence sche worschypyde the chylde & seyde to hym: 3e be welcome my god, my lorde, & my sone, & thanne the chylde wepynge & as hyt were quakynge for colde & hardenesse of the pauyment there hyt laye turnede hytself a lytyl & straugth out hys lemys sekynge to fynde refute & fauoure of the mothyr; the whyche the mothyr thanne toke vp in here handys & streynyde hym to here breste & wyth here cheke & here breste sche made hym hoote wyth gret gladnesse & ful tendyr modyrly compassyon; the whyche thanne satte downe vpon the grounde & putt here sone in here lappe & toke wyth here fyngrys craftyly hys nauyl, the whyche anone was kytte aweye, ne ther came ny lykur or blode out therof, & anone sche beganne to suade hym vp dylygently, fyrste in the lytyl lynnyn clowtys & aftyr in the wollen, streynynge the lytyl body the leggys & the armys wyth a suadynge bonde the whyche was souwed in foure partyis of the ouyr wollen cloth; aftyrwarde forsothe sche wrappede & bonde abowte þe chylde ys heed the othyr tueyne smale lynnyn clowtys the whyche sche hadde arethy therfore. (pp.77-78)

The repeated use of the generic terms 'mothyr' and 'chylde' encourages the reader to identify with the mother. In her behaviour Mary could be any exemplary earthly mother, albeit idealised, displaying the best of contemporary babycare. The reader is instructed to do service to mother, child and Joseph (p.83). Elsewhere in the early chapters of the Speculum Devotorum, care is taken to describe the baby and the mother's attention; for example she holds the baby, who 'was sumwhat fatt as chyldryn been', and supports his head properly: 'wyth here rygth hande sche helde vp the chylde ys heed' (p.104). In accordance with this sympathetic approach, much is made of the circumcision, not only from the point of view of the baby but of the mother too, for whom we are instructed to have compassion as well as for Jesus (pp.85-86). The bitter compassion felt by Mary during the Passion is the model of compassion for the meditating woman, as is repeatedly embodied in the appropriate chapters. For example:

> And beholdyth also hys modyr & othyre that were there wyth here weylynge & wepynge byttyrly for compassyon of hym and specyally hys modyr & woot neuere what sche maye doo or whethyr to turne here for sorowe & heuynesse. (pp.279-80)

This passage states that her suffering was greater than that of any martyr. Mary, however, though the greatest of devout women,

is not the only woman of worth, for other 'deuout wymen' (e.g. p.289) are present at the Passion too. The reader is instructed to be one of the group of family and followers present at the Passion (p.261). Even so, she is the prime exemplar of compassion:

> And as ofte as hys paynys were encressyd, so ofte thynkyth wythoute eny dowte here heuynesse & sorowe were encressyd, & made more & more. And, therfore hauyth inwardly pytee & compassyon of hem bothe, for they ben in gret sorowe and payne. (pp.265-6)

The affective impact of the Speculum Devotorum is not exclusively a matter of womanly *affecciouns*. It is also a more general matter of style and exposition. The sympathetic understanding on which compassion is founded can also be sourced in the intelligent theological psychologising of Lyre, for example, when Jesus is praying on His own in the Garden just as the Passion is about to begin, He is thrown into a 'stryfe':

> ...but att þys tyme he was putt in a stryfe; & thys stryfe as Lyre seyth was betuene the senseualyte dredynge deth & resun acceptynge hyt; for be the vertu of god he seyth euyryche parte was suffryd to doo & to suffre þat that was propyr to hym. (p.227)

One of the editors of the work has objected to the passage immediately subsequent, which is alleged to be 'almost offensively inadequate both to a religious and a literary sensibility' (Wilsher, p.88), presumably because it interrupts a scene, which should attract only devotional beholding, and not be cited straightaway as morally examplary:

> And therfore he prayde the lengyr schewynge be þat that the more nede a man hath, the more he schulde praye. (pp.227-8)

Wilsher is wrong here because it was perfectly decent, for the medievals, to draw a moral from any portion of Christ's Life, all of which was an example to the conduct of humanity. Such tangential moralising does not fracture the affective imaginative frame for the medieval sensibility, neither does any other interruptive glossing. It may seem to a patronising modern that 'sometimes his comment is charmingly inadequate, a solemn note of naïvety struck at the height of the action', as, when Jesus scorns his captors in the garden, an effect of bathos may be read into the text:

> Trowest þu not þat I mygth praye my fadyr & he schulde now ȝeue me moo thanne xii legyonys of angyllys. A legyon ys vi thowsende, vi hundryd, sexty & syxe. (p.231)

To a reader who does not actually know what a legion is, there is not such an effect. To be given an idea of the scale of angelic legions surely promotes the impact of the words of Christ. After all, it is thought necessary in the Stanzaic Life of Christ to labour the same point:

Now wil I telle, ȝe know moun,
quat a legion is to say,
An ost it is to bataile boun
of certayn noumber, nys no nay,

Sex thousande men of gret renoun,
six hundreth sixty 7 sex in fay
was callide þat time a legioun
of knyȝtes kyd in gode aray. (11.529-36)

If there were any possible indecorum in the exposition of legions, the Carthusian of Sheen would not have dared to insert such a passage. That he does is convincing evidence of its contemporary adequacy and tastefulness.

There are plenty of examples in the Speculum Devotorum of the affective power of prose not specifically written with the 'womanly *affecciouns*' in mind. For instance, at the scourging of Jesus by historically translated, thoroughly medievalised, doubleted 'knygthtys' (p.248) who 'doo of here clothys also into

here dublettys þat they mygthte smyte the soryr & not be lettyd' (p.249), the following observations are made:

> ...& thanne beholdyth dylygently how wyth scharpe scorgys they bete hym scharply, & how hys precyouse blode rennyth oute att euyry stroke for hys fleyische & skyn was tendyrer & softyr thanne euyr eny othyr mannys was for hyt was the same þat he hadde mercyfully take of þe blyssyd vyrgyne. (p.249)

The paratactic and cumulative sequentialism of the writer's own native prose style, with its simplicity, limited range of connectives and lack of subordination, cannot be dismissed as mere naivety. Good style is that which advances worthwhile literary aims. In this work the meditative events narrated pass sequentially in front of the mind's eye, and this is best expressed without subordination and interrelational complexity. The events speak for themselves as they occur. The repetition of 'scharpe...scharply', a typical medieval rhetorical feature, brings home the point that the potential sharpness of the 'scorgys' was realised in action. A capacity for ironic innuendo is to be seen in the comment on the mock-crowning a little later, that 'thys crowne they putte vpon hys blyssyde heed as to a man þat wolde regne, & mygthte not' (p.251). The truth, unexpressed (in imitation and acknowledgement of the tormentors' ignorance) but still meant, is that, on the contrary, this man 'mygthte' reign and 'wolde' not. The subtextual connotation of the word

'man', of course, is 'God': they crowned Him as a human king when in fact He really is a divine king. So, in this passage, though the irony is implicit, it would be easily understood by the intended reader. Another passage, dealing with Jesus and the 'purpur cloth' (p.258), is minutely and sensitively observed. We are told how Jesus's wounds were all renewed when the cloth was pulled from his shoulders. When he puts on this garment again, a humiliation in itself, the reader is told to behold

> how he doyth on ȝen hys clothys softe & esyly for hyt was ful paynful to hym. And thanne beholdyth how some of hem seygth þat he dede hyt but softe & esyly & sterte to hym fersly & drewe hem on faste & hastyly. (p.259)

'Faste' means 'firmly' and 'keenly'. It is the unexpectedly petty sadism of this act which is so striking.

II. GLOSSES OF TEMPTATION

Chapter XIII illustrates well the methods of the translator, which are in keeeping with the avowals of the *prefacyon*. It begins in proper fashion by summarising key *matere* in a chapter-heading:

> § How oure lorde Ihesu cryste was led of a spyryt into deserte þat he mygthte be temptyd of the fende; & how he fastede xl^ty^ dayis wyth othyr edyfycatyf materys acordynge therto aftyr the seyinge of doctorys. Capitulum tertium decimum. (p.155)

This chapter illustrates well the translator at work. In it the devil thrice tempts Jesus, the first time with gluttony, by suggesting He can turn stones into bread; the second time with vainglory, by tempting Him to jump from the Temple without harming Himself and thereby impressing the populace with His powers of flight; the third time with avarice, by offering Him the kingdoms of the world if He will worship him.

At the outset, something should be said about the medieval tradition of the 'three temptations', as manifested in interpetations of the Fall, and in the tempting of Christ in the Desert. They were also seen as affecting every aspect of moral and spiritual life. The tradition deriving from I John II.15-16 puts the three temptations under the heading of the lusts of the flesh, of the eyes and of the pride of life, and these were

inter-related, not only with the tradition of gluttony, vainglory and avarice (the order of the latter two being reversible) but the three stages by which any temptation progressed through to a state of sin.

> This list of three sins or "lusts" implies also a psychological process by which sin occurs. Gluttony, the lust of the flesh, had been the initial *suggestion* of the tempting serpent. Avarice, the lust of the eyes, had appealed to Eve and caused *delectation.* And vainglory, the pride of life, had brought in Adam a free and rational consent...The three temptations were, in the same way, a description of the psychological process of temptation, the process *anterior* to sin, which begins as a suggestion and proceeds through delectation to consent.'[7]

The Speculum Devotorum includes consideration, in this same chapter, of the three stages of temptation, which is translated from the same homily of Gregory the Great which, with Lyre, provides much other exposition on the three temptations:

> But hyt ys to be knowe to vs that temptacyon ys doo in thre manyrys: be suggestyon, in delytynge, & in consentynge. (p.163)

> Sed sciendum nobis est quia tribus modis tentatio agitur, suggestione, delectatione et consensu. '*

However, there is no attempt, either in Gregory or the Speculum Devotorum, to harmonise the two triple sequences. The *ordo tentationis* in the Speculum Devotorum differs from that of the psychological sequence; for instead of the penultimate and final temptations being avarice (=delectation) and then vainglory (=consent), as they would need to be for the three stages of temptation, they are the other way round, vainglory and then avarice. This choice of orders is tied up with the choice of gospel to be translated. The gospel according to Matthew is used by the English work for the *narratio* or *lectio* of this chapter, in preference to that of Luke who has his last two temptations the other way round from Matthew; for Matthew puts the temptation on the Temple second, but Luke puts it last: conversely the temptation of the kingdoms is second in Luke and last in Matthew. The advantage of following Matthew is that he matches the order of temptations of Adam in Genesis, which produces a greater poetic justice when Jesus spurns the devil in apparently canonical sequence. Nicholas of Lyre (fol.15^{r}-16^{r}) follows this order too.'[9] Nicholas Love obviously felt the need to comment on the 'Gregorian' tradition, which is passed over by his source, and by himself. He chooses not to compile into the Mirrour any such *matere* on the grounds that it already has a copious representation, not only in Latin, but in the vernacular too:

> In the whyche processe ben many gode notabilitees touchynge temptacioun of man in this worlde/ of the whiche seynt gregory and other doctoures speken in the exposicioun of this gospell *Ductus est Jesus in desertum*/ and specially Crisostome in *Inperfecto*/ the which/ for they ben sufficiently writen/ not onely in latyn but also in englische/ we passen ouer at this tyme. (Mirrour, p.99)

Because others have rendered this tradition sufficiently in English, Love is free, paradoxically, to perform an act of omission, by actually following his source, and thereby applying the principle of fruitful diversity. For this statement is of the same frame of mind as the justification for retranslation according to the model of the worthy diversity of the evangelists, as invoked in the *prefacyon* to the Speculum Devotorum (pp.4-5).

The Speculum Devotorum's treatment of the third temptation gives a good idea of the *modus procedendi* of the translator in his Englishing of the gospel and selective use of commentary-tradition. This section commences with a fairly close rendering of the literal sense of Matthew IV.8-11:

> Iterum assumpsit eum diabolus in montem excelsum valde: et ostendit ei omnia regna mundi, et gloriam

eorum, et dixit ei: Haec omnia tibi dabo, si cadens adoraveris me. Tunc dicit ei Jesus: Vade Satana: Scriptum est enim: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies. Tunc reliquit eum diabolus: et ecce angeli accesserunt, et ministrabant ei. ""

Aftyr þys ȝe maye thynthe how the feende toke hym vp into a ful hy hylle & schewde hym alle the kyngedomys of the worlde & the ioye of hem & seyde to hym: Alle thys I wole ȝeue the, yf þu wolt falle downe & worschype me. Thanne oure lorde seyde to hym aȝen: Goo thy weye Sathanas. Forsothe hyt ys wryte: Thow schalte worschype thy lorde god, & serue hym alone. Thanne the deuyl forsoke hym & angyllys cam to & seruyd hym. Thies bene ⸗e wordes of ⸗e euangeliste. (pp. 159-60)

After this first stage of *narratio*, or of *lectio*, comes a stage at once meditative and expository, in which explanatory materials drawn from commentary-tradition provide matter of *sentence* on which to ruminate. Omitting some of Lyre's materials the English translator uses the Postilla only from the gloss on 'Vade Satana' onwards.

¶UADE SATHANA. Hic increpauit eum et non supra ad ostendendum quod proprias iniurias debet homo portare: sed dei iniuriam nullo modo debet tolerare.

hoc autem maxime fit quando cultus debitus deo/
impenditur diabolo: quod diabolus facere
suggerebat:... (fol.16r)

Apon thies wordes Lyre seyth þus: Here oure lorde blamyth hym, þat ys, whenne he seyde goo forth Sathanas & not in othyr temptacyonys afore to schewe þat a man schal bere hys owen wrongys, but in no wyse he schal suffre godys wronge. Forsothe þat ys do moste whenne the worschype dew to god ys ȝeue to the feende the whyche the feende suggestede oure lorde to doo. (p.160)

Focussing judiciously on the gloss at the centre of the *sentence* of the passage, the translator omits, as not to his purpose, Lyre's discussions about the 'manichei' and the devil as 'pater mendacij'. (A medieval translator is allowed to omit if it accords with *auctoritas* and a good *entent*). But if he renders this gloss closely and fully, his next action is different. He leapfrogs over Lyre's next glosses, ignoring most of their comment (fol.16r). Then, recapitulating part of the earlier-translated narrative, he turns to a gloss on the coming of the angels to Christ, treating it very selectively:

¶ACCESSERUNT ANGELI ETC. Sicut vero domino serui sui. Ex quo apparet diuinitas christi: quia nulla natura est supra angelicam nisi diuina. (fol.16r)

> And whenne oure lorde hadde ȝeue hym the forseyde ansuere, & he ouyrcome hadde forsake hym angyllys cam as ys forseyde & dede hym seruyse as to here verry lorde. Here ȝe maye vndyrstande þat he was verry god & man. A verry man ȝe maye vndyrstande hym þat hungrede, but for he wolde. God þat angyllys dede seruyse too. (pp.160-61)

Lyre's point, that nothing higher than angelic nature exists except divine nature, is re-oriented into a stress on the humanity and hunger of Christ, which had been discussed in general terms by Lyre at the very start of his exposition of Matthew IV:

> TUNC IESUS ETC. Hic quarto ostendit euangelista in christo veritatem deitatis et humanitatis ex demonis tentatione: et ex sanctorum angelorum administratione. (fol.15ʳ)

The wording, however, of the Speculum Devotorum is closer to a homily of Gregory the Great on Matthew IV. 1-11.

> Notandum vero quod subditur, quia, recedente diabolo, angeli ministrabant ei. Ex qua re quid aliud quam unius personae utraque natura ostenditur? Quia et homo est quem diabolus tentat, et idem ipse Deus est cui ab angelis ministratur. [21]

The translator reserves the right to go over Lyre's head, as it were, back to Gregory. (Likewise, Nicholas Love, in order to highlight the human intimacy of the beginning of the Passion, goes over the head of his *auctor* adding from Lyre that Christ went into the garden with His 'thre special secretaries' ('confidants'), i.e. Peter, James and John, to whom He told His sorrow (see above, pp.278-80)).[22] The Speculum Devotorum's concentration on Christ's hunger ('hungrede') and not, as with Lyre and Gregory at this juncture, His temptation, is not at odds with the two great 'doctorys', for elsewhere Lyre specifies that Jesus's hunger provided occasion for temptation: 'Accepit autem tentator occasionem tentandi primo de hoc ex esurie ipsius christi' (fol.15ʳ). The translator is free to choose his own expository slant. The *entent* of producing a vernacular Life of Christ at once imaginative, and morally and spiritually edifying for those not mystically athletic, shapes the emphasis on the Sacred Humanity of Christ as the supreme example of Christian behaviour. This entent, with its selective use of Lyre and recourse to Gregory, leads to the subsequent moralization in the translator's own words:

In the forseyde temptacyon ȝe maye vndyrstande þat the feende temptyde oure lorde in coueytyse but ouyralle he ouyrcome hym, & att þys tyme vttyrly putte hym fro hym. Thys as me semyth schulde be a gret exsample of conforte to alle men & wymmen þat

> suffre temptacyon to bere hyt esyly & pacyently sygth they maye here & rede wytnessynge the gospel þat oure sauyoure was temptyd hymselfe, haply þat we that beleue in hym the esylokyr schulde bere oure temptacyonys þat we suffre in thys lyf; for a trewe seruaunt suffyth the esylokyr hys dyssese & tribulacyon whateuyr hyt bee whenne he heryth or seeth hys meke lorde specyally for hys cause dyssesyd afore hym. And wytyth for certayne that whatsumeuere temptacyon a man or a woman suffre in thys lyf as longe as they be not ouyrcome therwyth þat ys to seye nothyr wythinne be wylful consentynge, ne wythoute be euyl werkynge hyt ys no perel to hem but rathyr myche profyte & gret meryte. (pp.161-2)

This shift into a preacherly, exhortatory mode is common practice, often leading into prayerfulness. The translator regards the combination, selective use and extrapolation of commentary-materials as being just as much proper gospel exposition as his previous Englishing of the literal sense of Matthew and his fuller use of Lyre. His preaching moralises by 'wytnessynge the gospel' through commentary-tradition, and drawing out from the historical level and literal sense the moral and spiritual *profyte* or *fruyte* (i.e. *utilitas*) of the text. The moralisation refers back to the meditative experience of the chapter as being very much a personal experience of Jesus, His suffering and withstanding of temptation being expressed in terms

applicable to the individual reader, who will bear his or her own temptations the easier 'whenne he heryth or seeth hys meke lorde specyally for hys cause dyssesyd afore hym'. Here, as with Trevisa, preaching is very translation, and translation is very preaching.

This passage is truly representative of a general method adopted by the translator of the Speculum Devotorum. The Carthusian of Sheen is orderly in treatment of materials, regular in citation of sources, and clear in expression. His procedures recall those of the commentator, the compiler and the preacher. Though he gives sound versions of the literal sense of the gospel narrative, the *sentence* is expounded by an exegetical effort beyond mere interlingual glossing. The literal/historical sense and authoritative commentary-tradition on it constitute the base from which exposition is developed. It is natural that Lyre, the great exegete of the 'sententia litterae', is used. The translator, free but limited in his exegetical choice, could not have reflected all of commentary-tradition. As he says. 'that one leuyth anothyr supplyeth' (p.4). He must 'leue' as well as 'supplye' in order to expound, in his own orthodox ways, according to the intended utility of his work.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

SPECULUM DEVOTORUM: 'DRAWE FUL LOONGE IN A SOULE'

1. See generally Hogg's typescript introduction, esp. pp.vi-xli. Hogg's edition, as published, covers only the first twenty-nine chapters. For the remainder of the work, see Bridget Ann Wilsher, 'An Edition of "Speculum Devotorum," a Fifteenth Century English Meditation on the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ, with an Introduction and Notes', unpublished M.A. thesis (University of London, 1956), 2 vols.

2. Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, pp.102-3.

3. Catholicon, s.v. capitulum, unfol.

4. See Copeland, 'Rhetoric and Vernacular Translation', pp.63-64, for discussion of *materia exsecuta* in the context of vernacular translation.

5. Hogg, introduction, p.xlviii, for the citation of this quotation. For Guigo, see 'Guigonis Carthusiae Maioris Prioris Quinti Consuetudines', cap. xxviii, no.3, PL 153, 631-769, col.693-4.

6. Hogg, introduction, pp.lii-lxiii, for useful information on the books and MSS kept at Sheen.

7. ibid., pp.lxvii-cxxiii, for discussion of sources.

8. ibid., pp.cxliii-cxlvi. This approach is well established, and was advocated by Hugh of Sr Victor, who wrote in his Didascalicon that 'the start of learning, thus, lies in reading, but its consummation lies in meditation': see The Didascalicon of Hugh of St Victor, translated by Jerome Taylor (New York and London, Columbia University Press, 1961) p.93.

9. Sitwell, I.43, p.63.

10. ibid., pp.64-5.

11. ibid., p.64.

12. ibid., p.64.

13. ibid., p.65.

13. See Wilsher, p.145, who points out that a similar remark is to be found in William of Pagula's Oculis Sacerdotis, a well-known fourteenth-century manual for parish priests.

15. Legenda Aurea, ed. Graesse, p.80. Hogg, in his typescript introduction, pp. cl-cli, cites this as a particular example of the translator's abilty to reproduce both the clausal and phrasal structures of the Latin whilst at the same time doing aesthetic justice to it.

16. Legenda Aurea, ed. Graesse, p.241

17. Donald R. Howard, The Three Temptations: Medieval Man in Search of the World (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1966) pp.43-44.

18. Gregory the Great, 'XL Homiliarum in Evangelia', Hom. XVI, PL 76, 1134-8, col.1135.

19. For Peter Lombard's Sentences, see PL 192, 1048-9. For Nicholas of Lyra's Postilla Literalis, I have used Textus Biblie cum Glosa ordinaria Nicolai de lyra postilla moralitatibus eiusdem Pauli Burgensis Additionibus Matthie Thorning Replicis, edited by C. Leontorius (Lyons, Jacobus Mareschal, 1520), 6 vols.; vol.5 For the temptation section See fol.15^{r}-fol.16^{r}; this particular quotation, fol.16^{r}.

20. Vulgate New Testament, p.4.

21. Gregory the Great, 'XL Homiliarum in Evangelia', col. 1136.

22. Mirrour, p.219. Just as Love goes over Pseudo-Bonaventure's head back to the Bible and commentary-tradition, so Walton, in his rendering of Boethius, has frequent recourse to Trevet rather than Chaucer: see generally Appendix II.

CHAPTER SIX

THE STANZAIC LIFE OF CHRIST

I. AUTHORITY AGAINST AVARICE

Chapter XIII of the Speculum Devotorum makes use of the 'Three Temptations' homily of Gregory extensively in passages other than those discussed in the previous chapter. Towards the end of the chapter is the following Gregorian exposition:

> Also the same doctur seyth in the forseyde omelye folowynge that the olde enmy that ys the deuyl lyfte hymselfe vp a enste the fyrste man oure fadyr in thre thyngys for he temptyde hym in glotenye, vayne glorye, & coueytyse; but be temptynge he ouyrcome hym, for he made hym sogett to hym be consentynge. But be the same manyrys he was ouyrcome of þe seconde man þat is oure lorde Ihesu Criste...For when he was temptede of þe fende, he answerede by biddynges of holy writte. (p.164)

This same homily informs the equivalent passage in the very different, non-meditative late fourteenth century Stanzaic Life, a didactic and scholarly work, probably compiled into English at St. Werburgh's Abbey, Chester [1], in which *auctores* are cited, and materials and themes clearly divided, the *ordinatio* of the *Vita* following the Church year. Firstly, unlike the Speculum

Devotorum, the very narrative structure of this passage is dictated by Gregory's commentary and its *ordo tentationis* of Adam and Christ. Biblical quotations in Latin alternate with stanzaic Englishing of Gregorian exposition, giving something of a *divisio textus* appearance. Scholastic, but not staid, this passage is cast as vernacular verse debate, and Gregory's exposition, integral to the *sentence* of the gospel, is translated not only into another language but also into another genre. The poet, dramatising a combat in the language of dispute (with vocabulary like 'concludet' (1.5313), 'alegget' (1.5314), 'sotily' (1.5289), 'cast' (1.5249), 'coyntise' (1.5256), revels in the progress of Christ's easeful mastery and the devil's gradual and fearful loss of control as he is repeatedly beaten.

Two short extracts, revealing the poet at work as a commentator-translator, deal with the temptation of avarice, firstly in the case of Adam and Eve, and secondly with regard to Christ. Let us look first at avarice in Eden.

> In auarise thay temptide wer
> quen þat he het hom forto knawe
> gode 7 eul both in fer
> by this word, þat I shal showe:
>
> *Genesis, eodem capitulo: Scientes bonum 7 malum.*
>
> 'Auarise,' sais sayn Gregory,

'sovnes not onely in monee,

but in hezenes witerly

And couetise of gret degre'...(11.5277-84)

This corresponds to Gregory's 'et ex provectu avaritiae tentavit cum diceret: *Scientes bonum et malum.* Avaritia enim non solum pecuniae est, sed etiam altitudinis'.[2] The events of the New Testament are expounded by this retrospective reference to Genesis. 'Showe' means 'expound': the same usage is in the prologue (see above, pp.247-9; and below, pp.393-394). Appropriately, the translator himself ('I') does the showing, though Gregory, the *auctor*, does the speaking. When avarice is dealt with the second time round the translator, as with the previous two temptations, turns to the Gospel itself for Christ's refutations (not quoted by Gregory, but implicit in his homily):

the thrid time he temptid wes

by auarise, 7 then was thrie

quen he showide hym expres

al þe world þer oponlye,

And saide, 'al this I wil 3if þe,

3if þow wilt mekly knele adoun

And with gode wille worship me,

thou shalt hafe al this tour 7 toun'.

Hec omnia dabo tibi, si cadens adoraueris me.

then to the deul onsuaride he

with a fulle conclusioun,

'God thi lord byhoues the

to honour 7 serue, be alway boun.'

Dominum deum tuum adorabis, 7 *illi soli seruies.*

Al thus in þis selue maner,

and bi þes sleghtes alle thre

that Adam broȝt was in daunger,

Crist ouercome Sathan, ȝe moun se. (ll.5317-32)

This corresponds to the following commentary of Gregory:

> Per sublimitatis avaritiam tentat cum regna omnia mundi ostendit, dicens: *Haec omnia tibi dabo, si procidens adoraveris me.* Sed eisdem modis a secundo homine vincitur, quibus primum hominem se vicisse gloriabatur.[3]

The quoting of Christ's words is sanctioned by Biblical authority and the *sentence* of Gregory's commentary. Christ's Scriptural *auctoritates* are the final word of both narrative and exposition, and are implicit in commentary tradition.

Like a commentator the translator enumerates his *divisio* of material, twice pointing out that this is the third temptation.

Also, he adds the formula 'tour 7 toun', in keeping with the vernacular idiom of the translation and aiding the rhyme-scheme. Lastly, he adds in priestly fashion (ll.5322-3) that Jesus, in order that temptation become genuine sin, had to succumb with a 'gode wille'. As a preacher and confessor, the poet, an ethical intentionalist to the last, emphasises that an act needs the appropriate (im)moral intention to be significant.

The presence of the Latin in this passage raises a question: if the Stanzaic Life is a translation for the benefit of those without Latin, what is the status and function of such Latin? Firstly, it highlights the crucial stages of the debate. Furthermore, in a proper debate, it is fitting that Biblical *sententiae* are rehearsed in the dignity of the learned tongue and not just contemporary English. The Latin also provides visual evidence of sound translating and proper use of commentary-materials. It allows the poet to render an idiomatic version with the Latin as a safety-net. He looks two ways at once at his double audience of clerks and laity, dividing and ruling both text and audience, and catering for learned and unlearned:

> that I in Latyn thenke to say,
> for lettert men that sitten by
> to conferme this in gode faye. (ll.3466-8)
>
> In Latyn as I shal specify,
> and after in Englisch more verray

for lewet men that her ben by. (ll.7150-2)

Though strongly and selfconsciously rooted in *auctoritas*, the Stanzaic Life does not lose itself in receding into Latin materials. On the contrary, the Latin legitimises and strengthens the English text.

II. THE LOOSENED PROLOGUE

The prologue to the Stanzaic Life shows what the writer thinks he is doing as a preacher, compiler, commentator and translator, and how and why. As a 'loosened' scholastic prologue, written with vigour and ease, it conforms to the priorities of its Latin forebear without rehearsing all its official terminology. In similar vein the 'proheme' to the Mirrour inter-relates and collocates prologue-paradigm categories *ad hoc*: 'matere' is not considered separately from 'fruyte' or 'manere', and 'manere' is presented along with 'entent' (see above, pp.166-8). That the prologue has become such a flexible and fluent *idiom* is evidence of 'naturalization'. The Stanzaic Life opens with the preacher's confidence in gaining grace from Christ Himself for making this book:

Ihesu, þat born was of a may
In amendement of mankynde,

Deyde and rose the thridde day
The deuelus bond to vnbynde.

He ȝeue me grace sumwhat to say
To botene hem þat ben to blynde
Here lyfe to rule in good aray,
Thorwe lore þat I in þis boke fynde. (ll.1-8)

'He ȝeue me grace sumwhat to say' indicates a belief or hope re the free will and process of decision-making in this particular priest's instrumentality. He claims that he is authorized to select and communicate that which will 'botene', i.e. 'cure': such is the *utilitas* of the book. By translating he is not reporting the mere words in English form. Rather his *officium* is to choose, evaluate and import the *sentence*, i.e. 'lore þat I in þis boke fynde'. However, such finding is not the ultimate *intentio* of the work, for its readers, apprehending the 'lore', are expected subsequently to rule their lives 'in good aray'. Reader response is reader responsibility. Just as a translator needs a good intention and moral worthiness, so too does the intended ideal (but real-life) reader, the so-called 'worthy wyght' who asked for the translation to be made.

A worthy wyght wylned at me
Sertayn þyngus for to showe,
þat in Latyn wrytun saw he,
In Englissh tonge, for to knowe

Of Ihesu Cristes Natiuite

And his werkus on a rowe,

To the whiche by good Auctorite

He myghte triste 7 fully knowe. (11.9-16)

The translator has been requested to 'showe', i.e. 'expound'/'clarify'/'demonstrate' ' yngus', i.e. Christ's 'werkus on a rowe' according to the divinely sanctioned, exegetically harmonized order of the *Vita*. 'Auctorite' is *the* means to 'triste', and also to 'fully knowe': it has the double power of being trustworthy and true, as the meeting point of obedient faith and absolute knowledge. The next lines describe the *modus agendi* (*manere*).

There-fore now ys my by-gynnynge

Atte Cristes incarnacioun,

And myne Aucteres fully rehersynge,

On the whiche I founde my lessoun. (11.17-20)

The *sentence* of the 'Aucteres' will be fully rehearsed, without substantive omission. Such is necessary to 'lessoun', i.e. the interpretative reading of 'Aucteres' and the teaching focussed on by the translator ('my lessoun'). Authority is necessary, not only for the purposes of writing truly and safely, but it also demands *a priori* to be communicated, translated, known, believed, and acted upon. Just as the translator's

'lessoun' is founded on such 'rehersynge', so should all readers exercise their minds and faith and take heed of the content:

> Ther-fore þat redeþ here wyth-ynne,
> Rewarde þe mater of euery resoun,
> And trewe wyttenesse, as haue I wynne,
> Vriten he shal fynde redy boun,
>
> So þat no fable, in good fay,
> þat fals ys, shal he fynde non,
> But thyng þat trewe ys 7 verray,
> And wyttenesse names wryten þere-on.
>
> By-fore euery mater, and I may,
> The Auctor shal by my bone
> That Clerkus shal not after say
> þese newe fables wrote a fonne. (ll.21-32)[4]

It is important not only to rehearse authorities but also to label them as being from proper 'Aucteres'. Whereas rehearsing is in the province of *modus agendi/forma tractandi*, labelling is also associated with *forma tractatus*, the 'form of the treatise', in which each portion of the text is divided, assembled, ordered and attributed. Both 'lore' and labelling demonstrate the authority for, and within, each division of the book, which has thematic and expository sermon-like divisions (and subdivisions),

as, for example with the three reasons, taken from Augustine and Gregory, for fasting for forty days (11.4445-616).

The word 'bone' (l. 30), meaning 'warrant', is something of a legal term, like 'wyttenesse'. The evangelists were witnesses, and witness-bearing is a Christian duty for all, including translators of the life of Christ. (At this point it is perhaps worthy of comment that the word 'showe' in line 10 earlier can mean 'submit for legal inspection'). More generally, witness-bearing is near the heart of the stock medieval literary roles, which are predicated on faithful accounting, which in turn obliges readers to witness faithfully so that they too can give a faithful account, and so the pattern repeats.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

THE STANZAIC LIFE OF CHRIST

1. See Frances A. Foster's introduction, Stanzaic Life, p.xiv.

2. Gregory the Great, 'XL Homiliarum in Evangelia', Hom. XVI, col. 1136.

3. ibid., col 1136.

4. Line 2, as printed on p.30 of Foster's edition, reads 'The Auctor shal, by my bone'. However, it would seem that the comma between 'shal' and 'my' is an *erratum*, because Foster's note on this line on p.371, '30. The Auctor shal by my bone: i.e. shall be my warrant', and her reproduction of this line on p.xix of her introduction without the comma, and also her recording in her glossary of the verb 'to be' with the infinitive form 'by', all point to the erroneousness of the comma, which I have duly removed in my reproduction of the text.

CONCLUSION

The common modern notion, buttressed by the educational system, of translation as the faithful replication of the literal sense of the original, is much narrower than the understanding of translation in the Middle Ages. Medieval theory and practice were very varied, ranging from, at one end of the spectrum, literalistic word-for-word glossing, as found in the early version of the Wycliffite Bible and the close gloss-like renderings of Rolle's Psalter, to the considerable liberties taken with textual detail and structure in Love's Mirrour, the Speculum Devotorum and the Stanzaic Life of Christ. Such liberties, however, were not taken for their own sake. On the contrary, the choices exercised by translators in altering their sources, be they single or composite, reflect their awareness of the duty to render a purposeful *expositio sententie* for a particular audience different to the audience of the sources.

Anxieties about translation prominent in today's monolingual Anglophone culture, springing from the difficulty of understanding and rewording the texts of a foreign tongue, are conspicuous by their rarity in the medieval translation tradition, whose practitioners were as a rule comfortably bilingual or trilingual. Even so, the priority given to language in the modern conception of translation does prompt

examination of medieval linguistic thought to see what kind of circumstances it provided for medieval translation. Medieval theory of language provides a context for the ideology of translation but is not identical to it. As we saw in Chapter II, medieval linguistic tradition was underpinned by a belief that thought itself, together with the expression of intended meaning, constituted the informing mechanism and also the goal of linguistic construction, thereby upholding the liberties taken by translators with the accidental features of language in their pursuit of the intended meanings and complete thoughts contained in their originals. Witness the Wycliffites' belief in the interlocking nature of literal-sense exegesis and grammar, and their (and Trevisa's) attitudes to 'resolucion' and the changing of word-order, to say nothing of the practice of translators in general (see above, pp.35-38).

So, what mattered to translators was not so much language, but the taking of authoritative sources, single or composite, from Latin (or French) culture and the remoulding of them as whole cultural, not just linguistic, reconstructions for real audiences with their own capacities, limitations, expectations and demands. For even if a *simple soule* were suddenly visited with the gift of tongues, and could understand the language of the Latin original, he/she would still have need of the *in-echings* and elaborations of *sentence* which were so central to the medieval translator's craft. Whether the translator chooses, at one end of the spectrum, a quasi-interlinear, gloss-type Englishing or operates

at the other end of the spectrum, by substituting an elaborated *sentence* for the literal sense, together with large-scale excerptions, transpositions, additions, simplification of materials, stylistic/generic shifts, alterations of emphasis and even divergence from the original, both methods are still *authentic translation* according to the medieval understanding of the process.

Indeed, the opposite extremes of the translation-spectrum, and also some of its intermediate stages, may be represented with perfect stability of intention in the same work. For example both Rolle in his Psalter (see above, pp.77-78) and the maker of the Speculum Devotorum (see above, pp.337-9, 344-8) use the *ad verbum* anglicising gloss, followed by a rendering of the literal sense, followed by an elaboration of the *sentence*. Each approach has its own function and value without detriment to the others. No one method is more real or genuine as translation than another; for, as Chaucer puts it in the prologue to Melibee, works of *sentence*, like the gospels, are eminently and necessarily worthy of retreatment 'in sondry wise' (see above, pp.55-56, 61-62).

The belief in retranslation went hand-in-hand with an awareness of the inevitable insufficiency of each translation, and, together, these conceptions serviced the enormous diversity of Middle English Lives of Christ. Whereas the modern translator, embarking on a new version of a well-known work, may

be haunted by maxims (all too readily produced by reviewers) telling him/her that poetry is lost in translation, that translation is impossible, that translation and mistranslation are the same thing, and that translators are indeed traitors, his/her medieval counterpart could labour secure in the knowledge that, exculpated from blame anyway by a morally pure intention, his was a meritoriously incomplete translation amongst many other necessarily imperfect efforts: what he missed, others could catch, and vice-versa. This attitude is characterised in Trevisa's invocation of Jerome's and Origen's multiple Biblical retranslations (see above, p.136), and in Chaucer's and the Speculum Devotorum's recourse to the belief that the different version of Christ's life in each individual gospel was profitable and necessary (see above, pp.55-56, 61-62; 321-3). Or, as The Seven Poyntes puts it in more homely fashion but more with audience-variety in mind, 'summe folke delytene in one 7 summe in anoþer' (see above, p.113). As regards Lives of Christ, 'summe folke', then, interested in the study of the text of the gospels, might use the Pepysian Gospel Harmony. Others, minded to meditate on the process of the Passion, might turn to Robert Mannyng's Meditation on the Supper of Our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion. Others, more fervent in devotion but less interested in the sequence of the passion-narrative, might find spiritual fruit in the Englishing of Hoveden's Philomena. Others, wanting to understand better the relationship between the *vita* and its manifestation in the Church year, could turn to the Stanzaic Life of Christ.

The predominant mentality in the translating of such authoritative works was one of complementary and co-operative diversity, not competition or displacement (although, to be sure, the translator of the Speculum Devotorum was somewhat daunted by Love's Mirrour (see above, pp.313-15). The translations were not just retranslations, they were, in their necessary insufficiency, and in no pejorative sense, part-translations or semi-translations. An appropriate selectiveness in *expositio sententie* for a particular audience was matched in the variety of sources (homiletic, legendary, apocryphal, didactic, meditative and expository) compiled into the vernacular for the purpose of re-presenting and opening up the *sentence* of the gospels. This process was as much part of the Englishing of the life of Christ as was the faithful replication of the literal sense. I use the term 'Englishing' as referring not to the unwarrantably narrow sense of the English language alone, but to the wider authentically medieval sense of English culture and English audiences, the real determining factors of the translations' production and reception.

For the medieval translator, the strictly linguistic aspect of translating was immersed in the greater business of the proper handling of authoritative texts, as underpinned by literary theory and the roles of the commentator, compiler and preacher. In Chapter I, and more particularly in Chapter III, we saw how a breadth of academic literary attitudes informed conceptions of the vernacular handling of authoritative materials, in Lives of

Christ and in other works. Subsequent chapters, concentrating on Love's Mirrour, the Speculum Devotorum, and, to a lesser extent, the Stanzaic Life of Christ, considered not just the avowals, but also the detailed workings of theory in textual action. These three Lives were chosen because they are orthodox, and eloquent about theory, which they put into practice. Because of their variety of matter (expository, didactic, homiletic or meditative) and of translation-methods, and because of their self-commentary, they effectively speak for those other Lives, Passions and fragments which offer little or no comment on themselves, but whose practices are similar. Love's Mirrour merited special attention for its 'official' status, its considerable circulation, its richness in prefatory materials, and the variety of methods, based on traditions of commentary and compilation, employed in its treatment of materials. Theory-rich, Carthusian, and aware of the Mirrour, the Speculum Devotorum is the ideal companion to Love's work in a study like this. Also, it complements the Mirrour because it is not based on a single original, but compiled from many sources. Copiously self-exegetical and conservative, with a great range of translation-methods, rooted in academic tradition, the Speculum Devotorum encapsulates and fulfils (as does the Mirrour) a pre-existing translation-tradition. The integration of prologue and practice in the Stanzaic Life of Christ, discussed in Chapter VI, is demonstrable and substantial enough for separate consideration alongside but outside the preceding chapter, within which this integrated material might otherwise appear unduly digressive.

The three works discussed in Chapters IV to VI provide the most eloquent testimony to the pervasiveness of academic literary theory and attitudes in the Englishing of authoritative works, but they are not alone. We have seen that the prologues to these, and other works like the Mirroure of Mannes Saluacionne (see above, pp.123-6), The Seven Poyntes (see above, pp.68-70, 112-16), Rolle's Psalter (see above, pp.111-12), Bokenham's Legendys of Hooly Wummen (see above, pp.116-23), and even the Ormulum (see above, pp.94-99) draw variously on the terminology and attitudes of the tradition of the academic prologue in their consideration of the *entent*, *manere*, *matere* and *fruyte/prophit* (and even *nomen libri*) of the sources and of their own works. Rolle, in his Psalter-prologue, 'ticks off' the anglicised categories one by one (see above, p.111). Less formally, Love's Mirrour (see above, pp.165-75), the Speculum Deuotorum (see above, pp.302-33), the Stanzaic Life of Christ (see above, pp.392-6) and The Seven Poyntes (see above, pp.68-70, 111-16), collocate categories loosely with an idiomatic ease, expressing them as words, phrases or general attitudes, a sure sign of deep cultural absorption. With Bokenham, the stern philosophical grid of the Aristotelian Four Causes is flexibly and energetically discursive, anecdotal, and comfortable with its own eminent suitability for the task in hand (see above, pp.116-22). The prologue to the second version of the Wycliffite Bible betrays the influence of the academic prologue (see above, pp.127-37). In its conceptions of authority, *sentence*, the need for retranslation, commentary-tradition, authorial intention, the

opening and re-expression of the literal sense, and the ethical status of the life of the translators, it too reveals its mainstream and respectable credentials. Indeed, no study of late-medieval English translation theory such as this could afford to exclude from consideration this most substantial, detailed and *orthodox* of discussions on the Englishing of the most authoritative text of all, the Bible, which was also the ultimate or immediate source for Lives of Christ.

The practice of the translators provides a faithful accompaniment to the ideology of the prologues. For example, Love cuts out, abridges or simplifies higher contemplative materials, which is in line with his prohemially-defined *manere* and *entent* for the *prophit* of *symple soules* (for example, see above, pp.201-14). The translator of The Seven Poyntes takes 'materes insindrye' as they accord to his 'purpos', as he says in his prologue (see above, p.69). Rolle and the maker of the Speculum Devotorum keep their prefatory promises to follow holy doctors in their exposition as part and parcel of their *manere*, (see above, pp.77-78, 111-12; 330-2, 347-8, 373-82). The Mirrour (see above, pp.237-44), the Speculum Devotorum (see above, pp.324-6), The Seven Poyntes, (see above, p.69), and the Ormulum (see above, p.99), all discuss their titles, thereby breathing vernacular life into the *accessus* category of *nomen libri*. It goes without saying that the translations share the similar *entent* and *profyte/fruyte* of edifying or stirring to devotion by providing *sentence* from the gospels.

In their literary practice, translators satisfy the intentions of their prologues particularly by recourse to the roles of the commentator and compiler, as expressed in Bonaventure's continuum of literary roles (see above, pp.51-53). Translators harmonised these two roles with the related role of preacher. The definitions of these roles are from the selfsame academic literary tradition as the prologue.

Little wonder, then, that translators combined, as a matter of course, the ideology of the prologue with the role of commentator, because in origin the prologue constituted the introductory lecture (or, if published, the formal introduction) to a subsequent commentary. We have seen that commentator-translators like Orm (see above, pp.99-103), Love (see above, pp.279-84), Gavin Douglas (see above, pp.78-80) and John Walton (see Appendix II, pp.429-44, 455-8), the makers of the Speculum Devotorum (see above, pp.347-8, 373-82) and the Stanzaic Life of Christ (see above, pp.387-92), amongst others, employ commentary-tradition to explicate *matere*. What is more, a veritable commentary-mentality is also typified when they *in-eche* their own words or other expository words to sources for the purpose of elucidating the *sentence*, and recast or extrapolate in order to bring out a particular understanding.

Love, Capgrave, Bokenham, Chaucer, the translators of the Speculum Devotorum, the Stanzaic Life of Christ, The Seven Poyntes and the Mirroure of Mannes Saluacionne (amongst many

others) master one or both functions of *compilatio* in the service of their craft. The first function, as seen in the cases of Love's Mirror (see above, pp.65-67, and also Chapter IV in general, especially 169-75, 208-11, 269-72; also, in Appendix I, 421-3), the Speculum Devotorum (see Chapter V in general, especially, pp.334-5), the Stanzaic Life of Christ (see Chapter VI generally) and The Seven Poyntes (see above, pp.63-70), includes excerption from one or more sources, transposition, omission, conflation, abridgement, highlighting, re-ordering, division and juxtaposition of materials. The Mirroure of Mannes Saluacionne (see above, pp.123-6), Love's Mirrour (see above, pp.65-67, 173-4), and the Speculum Devotorum (see above, pp.308-12), use further compilatory features like chapter-summaries and tables to enhance the utility of their vernacular compilations. The second function, visible in Capgrave, Bokenham, Chaucer (see above, pp.67-70), the Speculum Devotorum (see above, pp.330-2), and the Stanzaic Life of Christ (see above, pp.394-6), consists in translators not ostensibly asserting anything of their own in their own words but faithfully reporting without alteration the literal sense of their *auctores*.

It would appear, then, that the Bonaventurean conception of the roles of the compiler and commentator is useful. But how far, for instance, does the idea of the compiler-translator as faithful reporter, confined to the literal sense, square with idea of the translator as commentator on the *sentence*? The answer is that the roles are not rigid, and are intrinsically in

harmony with each other. Both roles may be suitable, not to say intertwined, in a single work. The tradition of academic literary roles was (and had to be) flexible to accommodate the complementary variety of English Lives of Christ. Thus we see a definite sophistication in Orm's taking of the words from one commentary prompted by another commentary's *sentence* (see above, pp.102-3). This compilation of commentary is performed at a level inclining towards that of the commentator, for Orm is particular about modulating the *sentence* and he also includes some of his own words. Similarly, John Walton, in his translation of Boethius, was happy to draw on Chaucer's Boece when it agreed with Trevet, but Trevet is preferred to Chaucer if there is any disagreement between them (see Appendix II, pp.434-44, 455-8). Likewise, some of Love's additions to his source, at first sight apparently little more than minor compilatory acts of *in-eched* gospel harmonising, are in fact motivated in complex fashion by related strands of commentary-tradition (pp.275-81). The roles of compiler and commentator meet productively again when the maker of the Speculum Devotorum chooses a suitable expository emphasis for Christ's three temptations in the desert in the way in which, in pursuit of a chosen *sentence* suitable for a particular readership, he selects, combines and recasts matter from Nicholas of Lyre and Gregory the Great (see above, pp.373-82). In the equivalent passage in the Mirrour, Love draws attention to his decision to diverge from, and hence complement, the Gregorian tradition, on the grounds that it is plenteously represented elsewhere. He points out that his exposition has a

different but worthy *sentence* (see above, pp.375-6). Here, something resembling a compiler's statement of omission is a first step towards an alternative commentary.

When a translator alters the literal sense of the original, however minutely, and is not constrained, like Orm and Walton (pp.96-7, 448), by rhyme or metre, he is behaving as a commentator-translator, drawing a chosen *sentence* out of his *matere*. Nicholas Love, for example, when the exigencies of the English language do not require it (contrary to the Wycliffite Bible translators' aim of faithfully rehearsing, i.e. compiling, the literal sense (see above, pp.127-9, 132-3)), changes Latin comparatives for English superlatives in order to stress that all parts of the gospel are most devout (see above pp.247-8), and also in order to exploit and intensify contemplative terminology in re-applying it to the Active Life appropriate to his readership (pp.249-50). In the same fashion, in his rendering of the Latin *prohemium*, he cuts out materials relating to the enclosed life, and remodels textual details to suit his widened audience of *simple soules* (pp.245-65). Such treatment of detail is homologous with his exclusion, at a more structural level, of higher contemplative passages, with his transposition of materials, addition of anti-Lollard polemic, the treatise on the Sacrament, and (assuming they are his) the marginalia. Such alterations, though the function of the compiler as strictly defined, combine to effect a reworking of the *sentence* of the original, normally the task of the commentator.

Despite medieval translators' ready and flexible appropriation of the two roles, is there a significant sense in which the terms 'commentator' or 'compiler' do not in effect so much partner translation as oppose it? Decisive instances of opposition between commentary and translation seem to be somewhat elusive, simply because translation was authoritatively defined as the exposition of the *sentence* by means of the target language, which thereby precludes opposition between commentary and translation. Likewise, when Chaucer, Bokenham, Capgrave (see above, pp.67-8) and Love (see above, p.170) are referred to as being both compiler and translator, a tension between the two terms and activities is not discernible. In fact, a restricted 'modern' conception of translation, limited to linguistic replication alone, fits in well with the role of the compiler, whose function was to preserve the literal sense of the original, adding nothing of his own. Like the translators of the Wycliffite Bible and Trevisa, who are the most concerned with the business of accurate linguistic replication, the compiler, in preserving the literal sense, changes word-order, gives 'resons' for words and resolves clauses. When a translator does more than this, he becomes a commentator rather than a compiler.

What of the third literary role, that of the preacher? Whatever their methods in treating sources, Trevisa and the Wycliffite Bible translators agreed that the gospel should be preached in the vernacular (see above, pp.91-93, 128). Love's rendering of the Latin *prohemium*'s Gregorian *auctoritas*

concerning the faith and good Christian behaviour (see above, pp.234-5) echoes and upholds this classic definition of the function and purpose of preaching as reiterated by Alan of Lille (see above, p.88). For Trevisa, the vernacular explication of the gospel is both translation and preaching (see above, pp.92-4). Translation and preaching meet too in the vernacular Lives of Christ, because, for the Middle Ages, preaching could be written as well as spoken. Alan of Lille regarded St Paul as preaching by writing (see above, p.92). The Speculum Devotorum states that St John has the 'Auryole of prechynge' for his written works (see above, p.319). Furthermore, inasmuch as Biblical translation was, in general, meant to be licensed by a bishop, it was regarded in manner, intent and effect as comparable to preaching.

The Bonaventurean model may, without jeopardising its integrity, be enlarged to accommodate the role of the preacher. A preacher is like a commentator with special duties. He elaborates the *sentence* of the Bible in his own words or by drawing on the words of others, but he does so as a holy duty for a specific audience who are his responsibility, with God moving, guiding, and licensing him as His instrument. Middle English Lives of Christ in general have a preacherly imperative driving them. The Speculum Devotorum, the Stanzaic Life of Christ and also the Ormulum (a collection of homilies) show this consciousness of the office of preacher in their prologues (see above, pp.303-7, 317-18; 393-4; 95-99 respectively). Moreover,

in the *manere* in which, and in the specificity with which, they carry out their duties and draw out the *sentence* for their chosen flock, they (like Love and other makers of Lives of Christ) are preacher-translators as well as compilers and commentators. The Speculum Devotorum preaches appropriate lessons for the enclosed 'goostly syster'. The Stanzaic Life of Christ is sermon-like in its division of themes and teaches the gospel according to the church year. The early version of the Northern Homily Collection expounds the Sunday gospels for the unlearned. In fact, the multitude of Lives of Christ which translate homiletic and didactic materials in order to render the *sentence* of the gospels are all, in effect and nature, preaching.

The academic attitudes discussed generally in Chapters I and III were not, it is important to stress, confined to Lives of Christ and other Biblical reworkings. In Appendix II, a study of Walton's attitudes and practice in his highly-successful Boethius, we see a translator with a task cognate to that facing makers of Lives of Christ, for De Consolatione Philosophiae was the next most important 'set-text' to the Bible. Accordingly, Walton treats it like a commentator, draws on Trevet and Chaucer for expository materials, and, in a preface written in the idiom of the academic prologue, discusses his attitude to his activity, presenting himself as a humbly-intentioned instrumental efficient cause.

Another writer meriting consideration in this study of late-medieval translation theory and practice is Gavin Douglas (see above, pp.76-80), whose Virgil earns a mention in this thesis because it evidences the endurance into the sixteenth century of the medieval academic tradition of translating, for he expounds the *sentence* of his *auctor* by glossatory expansion and by recourse to medieval commentary-tradition and etymologies.[1] He also recognises the diversity of possible interpetations of his *auctor*, yet claims to follow the *sentence* contained in the original and not his own 'engyne'. In true medieval fashion again, he believes that text and gloss together constitute the primal source, the 'fresche sappour' of his Eneados. Like Petrarch and Boccaccio, who wrote at the dawn of Italian humanism, Douglas, flourishing at the later dawning in the British Isles, was also influenced by medieval intellectual tradition.[2]

To sum up, literary theory and ideology are present and active in Middle English Lives of Christ and other translations, secular and religious. But it is not only a question of how and to what extent the theory illuminates practice; it is also a matter of the theory and its related postures being something of a gauge of the importance to medieval culture of a work or, in the case of Lives of Christ, a whole genre. The theory was invoked by the translators of this sovereign genre and other works to valorise what was *a priori* of value. A classic strategy for such valorising is the appropriation and application of prestigious

terminology and forms. In other words, the theory is as much a symptom of value as an agent of it. An awareness of the theoretical sensibility of what may be called The Age of Translation enriches the modern appreciation, not only of individual works, but of medieval literary culture as a whole.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. For modern medievalists' tendency to view Douglas in terms of medieval translation-tradition, see Ellis, 'The Choices of the Translator in the Middle English Period', pp.27, 33; Rita Copeland, 'The fortunes of *non verbum pro verbo*: or, why Jerome is not a Ciceronian', in The Medieval Translator: The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages: Papers read at a conference held 20-23 August 1987 at the University of Wales Conference Centre, Gregynog Hall, edited by Roger Ellis, assisted by Jocelyn Price, Stephen Medcalf and Peter Meredith (Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 1989) 15-35, p.34; and, in the same volume, Tim William Machan, 'Chaucer as Translator', 55-67, pp.55-56.

2. Minnis, Scott and Wallace, Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, pp.9-11, 372-519.

APPENDIX I

THE LATIN SOURCE OF NICHOLAS LOVE'S

MIRROUR OF THE BLESSED LYF OF JESU CHRIST:

A RECONSIDERATION [1]

In an article on Nicholas Love's Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ and its Latin source, the Meditationes Vitae Christi, it is argued by Patrick F. O'Connell that much of what was previously attributed to Love as his own original modifications are not, in fact, original.[2] O'Connell advances the theory that many of Love's supposedly original modifications actually came from a Latin recension of the Meditationes Vitae Christi different from the text as edited by Peltier (and by implication different also from the text of the passion-section as edited by Stallings) and customarily consulted by scholars.[3] O'Connell's evidence for this is 'another English translation, that entitled St. Bonaventure's Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and published anonymously in 1846 by John Murphy of Baltimore' (O'Connell, p.7). This edition of the Meditationes Vitae Christi in English exhibits characteristics similar to the Mirrour. O'Connell argues that the Life is independent of the Mirrour, and that the substantial divergences from Peltier common to both English translations are attributable to the Latin sources that each translation used. Consequently, 'much, though by no means all, that has previously been attributed to Love's own creativity can be shown to be in fact a faithful rendition of

the text he had in front of him' (O'Connell, p.6). This point of view seems to have been generally accepted.[4] Therefore any research into Nicholas Love as a translator has to contend with O'Connell's theory.

However, it would appear that the Life is a reprint of an edition of 1739 under the same title. O'Connell voices his suspicion of this and draws attention to Elizabeth Salter's reference to the 1739 edition.[5] I have consulted what is undeniably a reprint of the 1739 edition under the same title and published in 1774. Differing only on minor points of punctuation and the occasional word, the 1774 edition almost identically matches the extensive quotations from the Life in O'Connell's article. The preface to the 1739 translation is not signed 'E.K.' as stated by Salter and repeated by Barbara Nolan, but 'E.Y.'.[6] This is indicated in the British Library Catalogue entry for 1739 edition as one Edward Yates. The same man signs his name in full in the preface of the 1774 edition.[7]

We know from the Reverend Yates's preface that he had access to an ancient English version of the Meditationes Vitae Christi. Salter asserts that this is the Mirrour, although Yates does not name the Mirrour as such.[8] However, Yates does describe the 'Obsolete Edition' as an English version, and he tells us how his original intention of modernizing it was altered in favour of translating the Latin of Bonaventure anew.

WHEN first I undertook this little Work of the LIFE OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, my Intention was, only to present you a true and faithful copy of that Life from an Obsolete Edition, supposed by some to be a Translation from St. Bonaventure...without any Alteration in the Translation, or making any other difference than that of a small Amendment in the Stile and Orthography.

Having however duly compared it with the Latin Original of St. Bonaventure and perused the whole with Attention, I found myself under the Necessity of altering my Intention in point of following the said old Edition. For although the Translator has therein mostly kept to the Text of the Saint; yet upon mature Consideration, I though it more properly answered to the End of a Collection than that of a pure Translation: The Editor having often through the whole omitted many Passages of the Saint, and inserted others in their Room, such as were agreeable with his own thoughts, or collected from other Authors, who have wrote on the same Subject.

Yates had access to the 'Obsolete Edition'. This may have been an actual Middle English Text, or it may have been a modernization of the Mirrour, as found in the editions of 1609 and 1620.[9] In any case, we cannot trust Yates's translation to

have been determined by an 'aberrant' Latin recension to the exclusion of the 'Obsolete Edition'. Yates's claim to be 'sparing no pains to present you a faithful Translation of the pious and learned Author' is not borne out by what he actually does.

In fact, Yates would appear to be using the Mirrour at the very beginning of his work. We find in the final paragraph of Yates's preface what is irrefutably an appropriation of a statement by Love himself on the subject of translating the Meditationes Vitae Christi into English. Such a statement Yates simply could not have found in a Latin source. Below are the corresponding passages from Yates and Love respectively.

> Lastly, whoever you are, pious Reader, that by reading this Book, or hearing it read, shall reap any spiritual Unction or Benefit from it, forget not in Charity, but remember to pray for him who has taken some Pains to giving an English tongue to this pious Work; on Purpose that you, and all devout Souls might reap the Benefit from it, which the extensive Charity of the Saint intends you, and was the chief End proposed by your
>
> Sincere and cordial Well-wisher
>
> EDWARD YATES
>
> (Life, 1774)

> And among othere who so redeth or hereth this book/ felynge eny goostly swetnes or grace there thorw3/ preie he for charitie specialy for the auctour and the drawere out therof/ as it is writen here in Englisshe to the profyte of symple and deuout soules/ as it was seide byfore. And thus endeth the proheme... (Mirrour, p.13)

An integral part of O'Connell's theory is the contention that the Life must be uncontaminated by the Mirrour. This is held to be so because of the differences in phrasing between the two English versions, differences which occur throughout both English texts. However, this contention is not convincing. A Georgian clergyman writing in or before 1739 simply would not have used the same phrasing as a Carthusian writing before 1410. Needless to say, literary usage - vocabulary, syntax, register, decorum - let alone the language itself, changed greatly between 1410 and 1739. Furthermore, Yates must be allowed his own particular idiolect, purposes, and intended readership. Differences in phrasing between Love and Yates can also be accounted for by changes within a tradition of transmission of the Mirrour. In other words, Yates's 'Obsolete Edition' could have been a modernization or adaptation of the Mirrour with phrasing in it different from that of Nicholas Love, such as the editions of 1609 and 1620. The inadequacy of employing differences in phrasing as a method for demonstrating that the Life was uninfluenced by the Mirrour can clearly be seen. We may take, as an example, the case of the

two passages quoted together above. In this passage Yates was indeed influenced by the Mirrour, yet the two passages clearly differ in their phrasing. Nevertheless, such differences are in no way evidence that the Life was not influenced by the Mirrour.

Neither can such evidence be used with any security elsewhere. O'Connell's argument that differences in phrasing in passages where both the Mirrour and the Life have no corresponding passages in Peltier is evidence that the Life was not influenced by the Mirrour, is unacceptable.'[9] On the contrary, such common features as the sharing of passages absent from Peltier would seem to indicate the influence on the Life of a tradition involving the Mirrour. Moreover, it is not convincing evidence against the influence of the Mirrour on the Life 'that the Life includes many sentences, passages, even entire chapters found in Peltier but not in the Mirrour' (O'Connell, p.10). Yates evidently used a Latin text comparable to Peltier, as well as a recension of the Mirrour. His Latin text would have provided the material lacking in his ancient English version of the Meditationes Vitae Christi. The presence, in the Life, of material found in Peltier but not in the Mirrour is in no way evidence against the influence of the Mirrour on the Life.

There are further serious shortcomings in O'Connell's argument in favour of an aberrant Latin recension. It is pointed out that the Mirrour and the Life agree against Peltier in a particular instance of arrangement of material, in which case Love can no

longer be credited with the original transposition of this material.

> The Peltier Meditationes begins its account of the Passion with a chapter entitled "Meditatio de passione Domini in generali" (no.74), which summarizes in a rapid fashion the major events and especially the details of the suffering connected with the Passion. In the Mirrour, the passage is found considerably later, after the way of the cross has begun and before the crucifixion proper...the passage is also found in this later position in the Life. (O'Connell, pp.19-20)''

In the corresponding footnote it is stated that 'independent confirmation of this reordering' exists in Smaointe Beatha Chriost, the medieval Irish version of the Meditationes Vitae Christi, and in the Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion, an early fourteenth-century version of the passion section.'[12] In both cases there is no such confirmation. Firstly, the editor of Smaointe Beatha Chriost, Cainneach ó Maonaigh, in the English appendix to which O'Connell refers, acknowledges that the Irish text does indeed omit Peltier's 'chap. [*sic*] 74 in its own place but embodies most of it' not after the way of the cross has begun and before the crucifixion proper, but 'in the chap. on the arrest of Christ (chap. 55, Irish version)' (Smaointe Beatha Chriost, p.364).

Neither is the material located as O'Connell states in the Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion. In this text is no deliberate retrospective 'recapitulacioun' as is found in the Mirrour shortly before the crucifixion proper.'[3]. Rather, the material in question features as mainstream narrative and is most evident in the section concerning the arrest and at the beginning of the 'medytacyun of .e thredde oure'.'[4] In general, the translator of the Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion seems to be quite free in the handling of the Meditationes Vitae Christi. This may well be reflected in his own description of the work as

> ...a medytacyun
> Compyled of crystys passyun,

which is perhaps an indication that he is claiming the compiler's right to restructure his source.'[5] Even so, in this case, neither Smaointe Beatha Chriost nor the Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion, let alone the Life, affect Love's status as an inventive compiler in his own right.

Finally, there is the question of the annotations in early and most copies of the Mirrour. These annotations attribute a number of passages to Love as original. O'Connell puts forward the view that, 'while many of these marginalia do indeed indicate passages original to Love, many others are put next to passages also found

in the Life, and thus according to our theory based on the Latin textual tradition they shared' (O'Connell, p.32). However, it has been established that the Life is not independent of the Mirrour, and therefore provides no evidence that the annotations are erroneous in this way. Even if, sometime in the future, the unthinkably impossible were to happen and convincing evidence were found of some aberrant recension of the source of the Mirrour, scholars would still have to contend with the intractable fact of the Mirrour's reception-history, that it was nevertheless believed to be from a Peltier-type source, and that this was its mode of manifestation in medieval English culture.

To sum up, there is no positive evidence to be gained from the Life for the existence of a Latin recension of the Meditationes Vitae Christi which would disqualify much of the originality previously accredited to Nicholas Love in his treatment of his source. O'Connell himself admits that he has found no manuscript evidence for the existence of the aberrant Latin recension of the Meditationes Vitae Christi.'[16] The case against the usefulness of a Peltier/Stallings edition as a reasonable measure of Love's originality has therefore not been proved. Consequently, this restores the value of Elizabeth Salter's contributions made in this area but brought into question since O'Connell's article.'[17] It looks as though Nicholas Love exercised considerable originality after all.

NOTES TO APPENDIX I

THE LATIN SOURCE OF NICHOLAS LOVE'S

MIRROUR OF THE BLESSED LYF OF JESU CHRIST:

A RECONSIDERATION

1. This appendix, in substantially similar form, has been published in Notes and Queries NS 33 (1986) 157-60. I am grateful for the comments of Professor J.A. Burrow, Dr Roger Ellis and Mr Simon Mitchell. I am also grateful to Professor Derek Pearsall and particularly to Professor Alastair Minnis for commenting on an earlier draft of this study, which arose as a necessary part of doctoral research which had to be followed through to a conclusion in order for there to be satisfactory progress to any further assessment of Love's relationship to his source.

2. Patrick F. O'Connell, 'Love's Mirrour and the Meditationes Vitae Christi', Analecta Cartusiana 82:2 (Salzburg, Universität Salzburg, 1980) 3-44; Nicholas Love, The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Iesu Christ edited by Lawrence F. Powell (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908).

3. Opera Omnia Sancti Bonaventurae, edited by A.C. Peltier (Paris, Ludovicus Vives, 1868), vol. 12, 509-630; Meditaciones de Passione Christi olim Sancto Bonaventurae attributae, edited by Sister M. Jordan Stallings, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin Language and Literature (Washington D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1965), vol. 25.

4. James Hogg, 'Mount Grace Charterhouse and Late Medieval Spirituality', Analecta Cartusiana 82:3 (Salzburg, Universität Salzburg, 1980) 1-43, pp.23-24; Barbara Nolan, 'Nicholas Love', in Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres, edited by A.S.G. Edwards (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1984), 83-95, pp.87-89; The Year's Work in English Studies 61 (1980) p.95.

5. O'Connell, 'Love's Mirrour and the Meditationes Vitae Christi', p.7; Elizabeth Salter Nicholas Love's Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, p.20.

6. Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, p.20; Nolan, 'Nicholas Love', p.87.

7. Other editions of Yates's Life were also made in 1773 and 1808.

8. Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour, p.20.

9. The Mirroure of the Blessed Life of our Lord and Saviovre Iesvs Christe (1609), facsimile reprint in English Recusant Literature 1558-1640 (1978) Vol. 392; The Mirroure of the Blessed Life of our Lorde and Saviovre Jesus Christe (Douai, 1620).

10. O'Connell, 'Love's Mirrour and the Meditationes Vitae Christi', p.9.

11. See also Peltier, p.599; Mirrour, p.235; Baltimore edition of the Life, p.245.

12. O'Connell, 'Love's Mirrour and the Meditationes Vitae Christi', p.20; Smaointe Beatha Chriost .i. Innsint Ghaelge a chuir Tomás Gruamdha ó Bruicháin (fl.1450) ar an Meditationes Vitae Christi, edited by Cainneach ó Maonaigh O.F.M. (Dublin, Institúid Ard-Léighinn Bhaile Átha Cliath (Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies), 1944), p.364.

13. Mirrour, pp.234-6.

14. Meditations on the Supper of our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion, ll.427-30, 539-44.

15. ibid., ll.13-14.

16. O'Connell, 'Love's Mirrour and the Meditationes Vitae Christi', p.6.

17. O'Connell, 'Love's Mirrour and the Meditationes Vitae Christi', p.31, footnote 30; and see generally Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrrour; also Nolan, 'Nicholas Love', p.88.

APPENDIX II

WALTON'S SAPIENT ORPHEUS

I. R. Johnson

In the fifteenth century John Walton's verse translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, completed in 1410, far surpassed Chaucer's prose *Boece* in popularity. This study examines Walton's procedures as a poet and translator by focusing on a key part of his work, his rendering of Bk III met. 12, in which he provides a version of the story of Orpheus that owes much to Nicholas Trevet's hugely influential commentary on *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and also something to the *Boece*.[1] The story of Orpheus evidently made an impression on Walton, for on examination there emerges a special relationship between his presentation of Orpheus and his presentation of himself in his own two 'translator's prefaces', the first introducing the whole work and the second immediately following the Orpheus metre and standing before Bk IV.[2] In these prefaces Walton, in addition to describing his literary activity in terms of standard medieval literary theory, appears to strike an attitude somewhat akin to that of a 'Sapient Orpheus', that is, he speaks as a Christian poet openly advertising his wise rejection of the worldly wretchedness which undid his illustrious forebear. The success of Walton's work in the fifteenth century indicates that it was indeed considered sapient and Orphic by its intended audience. This should prompt us to consider it as an important text which merits further critical attention.

[1] The text is published in *Boethius: De Consolatione Philosophiae Translated by John Walton Canon of Oseney*, ed. Mark Science, EETS OS170 (London: Oxford University Press, 1927) 206–9; the *Boece* in Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957) 357–8. I have used the Vulgate text of *De Consolatione Philosophiae* as edited by Tim Machan for inclusion in the 'Variorum Chaucer' edition of the *Boece*, and the complete but unrevised edition of Nicholas Trevet's commentary on *De Consolatione Philosophiae* which Professor E. T. Silk, formerly of Yale University, was still working on at the time of his death. For a demonstration that Walton knew and used Chaucer's *Boece* see Science's introduction, li–lviii. More recently, A. J. Minnis has shown that Walton used Trevet's commentary: see 'Aspects of the Medieval French and English Traditions of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*', in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981) 312–61, 343–7, 350–1.

[2] *Prefacio Translatoris* (preceding the whole work) 1–4; *Prefacio Translatoris in Librum Quartum et Quintum* 210–12.

I. Walton and his Work

At the outset, something must be said about Walton and his translation.[3] Little is known about the man. He is, however, referred to as an Augustinian Canon of Oseney and a papal chaplain. It is thought from the colophons to some of the manuscripts that his Boethius translation was completed in 1410. There is substantial evidence that this work was made for a specific patron, Elizabeth Berkeley, daughter of Thomas, Lord Berkeley of Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire. However, Walton did not rule out, and perhaps expected, a larger audience comprising clerks and gentlefolk, male and female, as we see from the closing lines of his *Prologus*:

> And euery lord or lady what ȝe be
> Or clerk þat likeþ for to rede þis . . . (stanza 22; p. 11)

Walton is thought to have been translator to the Berkeleys, probably in succession to John Trevisa. Indeed according to Mark Science, Walton's editor, it was probably Walton and not Trevisa who translated Vegetius' *De Re Militari*.

Walton's Boethius is to be found in some twenty manuscripts. There is also a revision extant in a manuscript in the Newberry Library.[4] In addition to these are the copies of the printed edition of 1525 made by Thomas Richard, monk of Tavistock. The number of extant manuscripts, plus the printed edition, may be taken as evidence of considerable circulation and no little success for Walton's work. There is, though, little other evidence about the reputation of the man or his translation. His Boethius is not referred to in any subsequent Middle English literature other than, perhaps, the *Kingis Quair* (see below, p. 164). Only a few manuscripts of his own work identify him as the author. His translation may not have been read as the work of one John Walton, but as the work of Boethius in English.

The first three Books of his all-verse English rendering (including the Orpheus-metre) are in eight-line stanzas with five beats to the line and the rhyme-scheme *ababbcbc*, as in Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*. Books IV and V show a switch to the *Troilus* stanza, that is *ababbcc*, with its one less *b*-rhyme. Perhaps all those *b*-rhymes in the original stanza-form proved rather unmanageable, or perhaps Walton wanted to compete more obviously with Chaucer, particularly with his verse renditions of Boethius in *Troilus*. With this change of stanza-form it was easier to manipulate complex ideas concerning fate, providence, free will, determinism, absolute and conditional necessity, divine knowledge and foreknowledge, and other knotty concepts. In the pursuit of his rhymes Walton makes another alteration: although his dialect is East Midland he readily admits Kentish, Northern and West Midland features.

[3] This general historical information is taken from Science's introduction, vii–xxi; xlii–l.
[4] Cf. R. A. Dwyer, 'The Newberry's unknown revision of Walton's Boethius', *Manuscripts* 17 (1973): 27–30.

II. The Orpheus Metre and its Commentators

The main features of the Latin original may be summarised thus. The poem opens with the general maxim that happiness is obtained by gazing on the clear fount of the Good and by loosing the bonds of the heavy earth (ll. 1–4). Then the narrative itself commences. Orpheus, we are told, mourned his wife in weeping measures which moved nature but not the gods above (ll. 5–17). And so, Orpheus went to Hades where all the inhabitants of hell were moved by his eloquence. Cerberus was stupefied, even the Furies mourned, Tantalus lost his thirst, Ixion's wheel ceased whirling him round, the vulture stopped tearing Tityus' liver (ll. 18–39). Finally, the Lord of Tartarus returned Eurydice on condition that Orpheus did not look back at her until they were outside the bounds of hell (ll. 40–6). But, tragically, he did look back and lost her again (ll. 47–51). Boethius closes the metre with an exhortation to his audience: he who wants to lead his mind up to the light of day above, will lose whatever excellence he may have won when he looks back down on those below (ll. 52–8).

Boethius selected from the lore of Orpheus only what suited his purposes in *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. A multitude of other stories about Orpheus and his accomplishments would have been in the minds of his audience, who would have been understandably curious to discover how Boethius would treat one of the most illustrious prodigies of mythology.[9] Orpheus was known to them as the son of Apollo and the Muse Calliope. He was also fabled as an Argonaut, a musical charmer of nature, even a priest who deserted the cult of Dionysus and turned to Apollo as a rationalist vegetarian pacifist. Apart from being the first and greatest poet he was credited with the invention of the alphabet. But the lyrist of Thrace was well known as the husband or lover of Eurydice, whom he lost to the Underworld when a snake bit her. There were some versions of the tale in which Orpheus' poetry wins her back from the Underworld for good. Boethius opts for the tradition of a second, permanent loss. Most Hellenic accounts and the Latin versions based on them heaped further woes on Orpheus. He ends up being ripped limb from limb by the women of Thrace, who were incensed by his spurning of women following his loss of Eurydice and, in some versions, the transfer of his amatory intentions to young boys. The story does not end in death, however, for Orpheus' severed head floated to Lesbos, with his lyre beside it. The natives did not waste this sea-borne opportunity to set up an oracle, with such success that the prime local competitor, Apollo, grew jealous of his son's popularity.

Boethius' rendition of the story became a pillar of the Orpheus-tradition in the Middle Ages, which readily seized on his interpretation of the tale which warns us not to be like Orpheus who lost true happiness and the excellence of enlightenment because of his backsliding to limited worldly considerations. Inasmuch as Boethius was an *auctor* who was believed, respected and much studied, his interpretation wielded immense influence.

[9] This account of Orpheus draws on John Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970) 5–10.

There was a vast medieval tradition of commentary on Boethius. The glosses attributed to Remigius of Auxerre (*c.* 904), although not particularly intellectually exalted, firmly grasp Boethius' main point that the metre 'speaks to those who, after they have recognised the way of truth and advanced on it, return to human desires and thus ruin the work they have begun'.[6] Remigian glosses influenced the important commentary of William of Conches (1080–1145).[7] William also developed the interpretation of the sixth-century mythographer Fulgentius, who, in his *Mitologiae*, provided the Middle Ages with a much-favoured allegorical etymology of the main characters, in which Orpheus was 'oreafone', that is, 'matchless sound'; Eurydice 'eur dike', that is 'deep judgement'; and Aristaeus (the shepherd who was chasing Eurydice with the intention of raping her when she was bitten by the snake) was 'ariston', that is, 'best'.[8] In William's version, Orpheus, as 'orea phone', represented wisdom and eloquence, the important medieval commonplace which also shaped Walton's treatment of this metre. Eurydice became the 'judgement of the good' and Aristaeus was interpreted as 'virtue'. William glossed the death of Eurydice as the sinking of the judgement of the good to earthly delights. Thus Orpheus was obliged to sink down to the Underworld in order to find out the utter valuelessness of 'temporalia', but he did not succeed in this because he failed to put 'temporalia' behind him and backslid. William concluded his commentary, which otherwise is not noticeably Christian, with a quotation from the Gospel of Luke: 'No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God' (ix. 62).

Nicholas Trevet's commentary on Boethius (*a.* 1307), extant in over 100 manuscripts, was a dominating force in the effect of *De Consolatione Philosophiae* on English literary culture in the later Middle Ages.[9] It was relied on heavily by Chaucer, Walton and Henryson.[10] Trevet's treatment of the Orpheus metre can be said to centre on the following. True happiness is said to entail the leaving behind of one's 'affecciones': instead one should look up to God. The 'integumentum fabule de Orpheo' teaches us that the 'affectus terrenorum' impedes contemplation of the Good/God. Orpheus is interpreted

[6] Cf. Friedman, *Orpheus* 98–9, who discusses Remigius' commentary, pp. 98–102. See also Jacqueline Beaumont, 'The Latin Tradition of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*', in *Boethius*, ed. Gibson, 278–305, 285–8. See in particular Joseph S. Wittig, 'King Alfred's *Boethius* and its Latin Sources: a Reconsideration', *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983): 157–98, for an important discussion of whether or not Alfred used a particular commentary in rendering the Orpheus metre. Wittig argues that 'the Old English Orpheus metre cannot be shown to derive from a particular commentary or even from the commentaries considered *en masse*' (p. 185), but rather from a knowledge of classical authors and a tradition of learning. In an appendix there is a valuable account of the manuscripts of Remigian and other commentaries, including selected glosses which illustrate their character, consistency and diversity.

[7] Cf. Friedman, *Orpheus* 104–9; Beaumont, 'The Latin Tradition', 298–300.

[8] Cf. *Fulgentius the Mythographer*, trans. Leslie George Whitbread (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1971) 96.

[9] Cf. Minnis, 'Aspects', 314–15, and Brian Donaghey's article in this anthology.

[10] Cf. Minnis, 'Aspects', 334–49. For Henryson's treatment of the Orpheus story see Robert Henryson, *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. Denton Fox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) cv–cx, 132–53, 391–425. Fox publishes a transcription of Trevet's glosses on the Orpheus metre, made from London, British Library, MS Addit. 19585, fols 61ᵛ–63ᵛ, on pp. 384–91.

as the intellective part of the soul instructed in sapience (as the son of Phebus) and eloquence (as the son of the Muse Calliope). That sapience and eloquence are thoroughly compounded in Orpheus is particularly witnessed by Trevet's use of the words 'predicacione et instruccione' and 'predicacio per eloquenciam modulata' to describe Orpheus' poetic activity, as if his eloquence were so wise that it deserved the prestigious name of preaching. Eurydice is the affective part of the soul, with which 'virtus', that is, the would-be rapist Aristaeus, wishes to join, 'copulare', this Latin verb appropriately meaning 'to copulate' as well as 'to join'. Aristaeus chases her through the field of this present life where she is bitten by the snake, which represents the sensuality which causes the *affectus* to sink to subjecting itself to earthly delights and cares. The intellect, Orpheus, then tries to rescue the affective part of the soul by means of his sapience and eloquence by pleading with Heaven, but the ascent to Heaven is difficult because it is impeded by those earthly delights. Therefore the *intellectus* has to go down 'ad inferos ratiocinando', that is, using its rational powers, which are properly allied to eloquence in order to overcome and recover the now pervertedly sunken *affectus* which is bound in earthly cares and delights. Sapience and eloquence, in combination, succeed in realigning the affective and intellective parts of the soul, but unfortunately the *intellectus*, instead of rightly beholding the Good above, gazes back down at the *affectus* and so sinks down into the cares of the world. There is much more to Trevet's commentary on the Orpheus metre than this, it should be said; for example, he offers lengthy allegorising of each 'monstrum' of hell. But the central import of the *sententia* of Trevet's exposition may be summed up thus: all the good won by the labours of sapience and eloquence are lost when one adheres to the cares and delights of the world.

III. Walton's Orpheus Metre

Before we analyse Walton's procedures of translation, consideration must be given to the dominant conception of translation in the late-medieval period, when it was seen as akin to commentary. 'Translatio est expositio sententie per aliam linguam' ('Translation is the exposition of meaning through/by another language').[11] This definition was to be found in the most authoritative and highly used medieval dictionary, the *Catholicon* (1286) of John of Genoa, Giovanni de'Balbi, or Joannes Januensis, as he is variously known [cf. pp. 106–7 above]. Translation, then, elucidated the *sententia*, that is the meaning, the teaching, of the text, by means of the target language. This deeper understanding, the *profundior intelligentia*, had to be rendered in words different from the original.[12] *Expositio sententie* entailed allegorical interpretation or the 12a

[11] John of Genoa, *Catholicon*, s.v. *glosa* (Venice, 1483) unfol.
[12] Cf. M. B. Parkes, 'Punctuation, or Pause and Effect', in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978) 127–42, esp. p. 131. For discussion of the rôle of the commentator as it related to other medieval literary rôles see A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic literary attitudes in the later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984) 94–5. In my research towards a University of Bristol Ph.D. on the topic of 'Medieval Translation Theory and Practice with Reference to Middle English Lives of Christ', I am investigating such academic literary rôles as appropriated by translators.

12a See A.J. Minnis, 'Glosynge is a glorious thyng', pp.106-7.

drawing of the meanings from the etymologies of the names appearing in the text. It may have proceeded from an elaboration of the literal sense and the intention of the author. In order to elucidate the *sententia* Walton, like a commentator, draws on the respected glosses of Trevet, often incorporating them into his English text rather than translating the literal sense of Boethius. And like a commentator he imposes divisions and rearrangements on the original.

With these principles in mind we now proceed to an analysis of Walton's methods of translating, beginning with the first four and last seven lines of the metre, in which he creates a frame in which the narrative is, in both content and language, moralised more explicitly and consistently than it is in the original.

FROM THE GOOD TO THE BLISSFUL WITH GOD

Boethius' opening lines

> Felix qui potuit boni
> Fontem visere lucidum (ll. 1–2)

are rendered thus by Walton:

> Full blisfull is þat man þat may beholde
> Þe brighte welle of verrey blisfulnesse. (stanza 1)

Boethius' 'boni' is translated not 'of the good' but 'of verrey blisfulnesse'. There is no precedent in Chaucer for this alteration of the literal sense, for he renders 'boni' as 'of good' (l. 2). Here Walton is providing not a word-for-word translation but an *expositio sententie* by following Trevet's gloss 'LUCIDUM FONTEM BONI id est Deum', which equates the bright well of good with God, who represents true happiness, as Trevet said a little earlier: '. . . ostendit Philosophia que sit vera beatitudo et in quo sita (quia in Deo)'. Hence Walton's 'verrey blisfulnesse', which closely translates Trevet's 'vera beatitudo'. Thus, Trevet's glosses direct the English rendering. It should be noted, however, that Walton is not simply using Trevet as an additional source. Rather he is employing the commentary to reveal the deeper understanding of his source-text, in the best scholarly manner of his age.

WORLDLY WRETCHEDNESS AND RHYMING WELL

Boethius' third and fourth lines

> Felix qui potuit gravis
> Terre solvere vincla (ll. 3–4)

declare that to be happy is to loose the bonds of heavy earth. Trevet expounds 'gravis/Terre . . . vincla' as worldly 'affecciones' in which men enchain themselves and which drag them down.

> FELIX scilicet ille eciam est (3) QUI SOLVERE POTUIT VINCULA id est affecciones GRAVIS TERRE que scilicet sua gravitate homines per affeccionem sibi vinculatos deorsum trahit.

In his version of these lines in the *Boece*—

> Blisful is he that mai unbynden hym fro the boondes of the hevy erthel (ll. 2–3)

—Chaucer does not translate the literal sense of 'solvere vincla', which is 'unbind the chains'. Rather, he opts for an imitation of Trevet's 'sibi vinculatos' in 'unbynden hym', a reflexive construction which emphasises that men bind themselves with the affective side of their nature. Walton goes further than Chaucer in following Trevet with the more emphatically reflexive 'hymself' in his rendering.

> And wel is hym þat may hymself vnfolde
> Fro bondes of þis worldly wrecchidnesse. (stanza 1) 12b

Whereas Chaucer translates 'gravis terre' literally as 'of the hevy erthe', Walton's 'of þis worldly wrecchidnesse' reflects Trevet's gloss in which the bonds of heavy earth are those worldly 'affecciones'.

The second 'felix' of the metre (l. 3) is not translated as 'blissful' or 'happy' but as 'wel'. Walton, as has already been observed in respect of his translation of 'boni fontem' (ll. 1–2) as 'welle of verrey blisfulnesse', equates happiness and goodness, not only on the specific warrant of Trevet but also in accordance with the general meaning of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which repeatedly declares that they are one and the same. Moreover, 'wel' artfully enforces the *sentence* by the device of homophony with 'welle' in the previous line. Just as these words share the same sound, so are the different words they translate associated in the commentary. This illustrates a kind of inventive commentary-eloquence in the texture of the verse. In similar vein the two complementary poles of Trevet's exposition, 'verrey blisfulnesse' and 'worldly wrecchidnesse', are highlighted in rhyme.

BLISSFUL LIGHT AND EARTHLY HELL

Below are the last seven lines of Walton's rendering, which some manuscripts label in the margin as the 'conclusio'."

> This fable lo to 3ow perteyneth right;
> For ye þat wolde liften vp youre mynde
> Into þe hyhe blisfull souereyn light,
> If ye eftsones turne doun youre sight
> Into þis foule wrecched erthely dell,
> Lo all þat evire youre labour haþ yow dight
> Ye loose it when ye loken into hell. (stanza 9)

" Cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e. Museo 53, fol. 75°. See also Lincoln, Cathedral Library MS A.4.11, fol. 62°, which is reproduced in the photographic plate opposite the title page in Science's edition.

12b Regardless what Walton thought he was doing with source at this point, it is necessary, for the sake of correctness, to point out that the antecedent of 'sibi' is 'terre'.

The first three of the lines above translate Boethius'

> Vos hec fabula respicit
> Quicumque in supernum diem
> Mentem ducere queritis . . . (ll. 52–4)

Chaucer translates 'queritis' (l. 54) as 'desireth or seketh' (l. 61), thereby following Trevet who glosses it 'vultis'. Walton's rendition 'wolde' omits the notion of seeking in 'queritis', instead translating Trevet's 'vultis', which emphasises that this is, above all, a matter of the will. Chaucer translates 'supernum diem' (l. 53) as 'the sovereyn day (*that is to seyn, into [clearnesse of] sovereyn good*)' (ll. 62–3), thus following Trevet's 'IN SUPERNUM DIEM id est bona superna'. In his rendering 'hyhe blisfull souereyn light' Walton gets 'sovereyn' from Chaucer, and he acquires his additional 'blisfull' by translating Trevet's gloss 'bona superna' in the same way as he expounded 'boni' (l. 1) as 'of verrey blisfulnesse' (stanza 1), that is by interchanging happiness and goodness. 'Blisfull' forms an antithesis with 'wrecched', which occurs two lines later. This is, predictably, a recurrence of the pairing of 'blisfulnesse' and 'wrecchidnesse' in the first stanza. These renderings owe much to Trevet and they highlight the teaching believed to be in the *auctor*.

Boethius' four final lines

> Nam qui Tartarium in specus
> Victus lumina flexerit,
> Quicquid precipuum trahit
> Perdit, dum videt inferos (ll. 55–9)

are translated thus:

> If ye eftsones turne doun youre sight
> Into þis foule wrecched erthely dell,
> Lo all þat evire youre labour help yow dight
> Ye loose it when ye loken into hell. (stanza 9)

This resounding exhortation is made more effective in the English by being changed from the third person (as in the Latin) into the second person, and it is done under the influence of the glosses on the three lines of the original immediately prior to this passage. Trevet noted that these lines were written in the second person because Boethius spoke for 'your' instruction to all men.

> Unde communiter homines alloquendo dicit HEC FABULA RESPICIT VOS quia scilicet ad vestram informacionem est inducta . . .

Thus we can see the logic behind Walton's directly addressing the audience. To the same effect he uses the word 'þis' in 'þis foule wrecched erthely dell', as he also did in the first stanza with 'þis worldly wrecchidnesse', thereby bringing the message nearer to the reader.

'Tartarium in specus' (l. 55) is rendered 'þis foule wrecched erthely dell' on the basis of Chaucer's 'into the put of helle (*that is to seyn, whoso sette his thoughtes in erthly thinges*)' (ll. 65–7), which itself follows Trevet's 'IN SPECUS TARTAREUM id est ad terrena favendo cupiditati uti supra expositum est'.

In the next line the gloss is privileged rather than the literal meaning of the original. 'Quicquid preciputum trahit' (l. 54), which stresses all the excellence one draws, loses the idea of excellence and gains the idea of labour instead: 'Lo all þat evire youre labour haþ yow dight'. This comes from Trevet's exposition of this line, 'QUICQUID PRECIPUUM TRAHIT Id est quicquid boni laborando adquisvit', which Walton follows closely.

The final line, 'Ye loose it when ye loken into hell', leaves us in no doubt that 'hell' and 'þis foule wrecched erthely dell'—suitably matched, as they are in the last rhyme of the metre—are indeed one and the same.

What of Walton's treatment of the fable itself, the *narratio* (ll. 5–51 of the Latin)? Again, both Trevet and Chaucer are used in order that justice may be done to the teaching of Boethius. But it is not only the *sententia* which is Walton's concern; he also strives to achieve a vernacular eloquence worthy of his original.

Here is the beginning of the *narratio* as rendered by Walton, together with the corresponding Latin, both of which will be discussed in the following sub-sections:

> The poet Orpheus wiþ heuynesse
> Hys wyfes deth haþ weyled wepyngly,
> And wiþ his songes full of dretynesse
> Made wodes for to renne wonderly.
> . . .
> He made stremes stonden and abyde;
> The hynde fered not of houndes fell,
> Sche lete þe lyoun lyen by here syde;
> The hare also ne dredde noght a-dell
> To see þe hound, hit liked hym so wel
> To here þe songes þat so lusty were;
> And boldely they dorste togidres dwell
> Þat nevire a beste had of othere feere. (stanzas 1–2)

This corresponds to the following passage of Boethius:

> Quondam funera coniugis
> Vates Treicius gemens
> Postquam flebilibus modis
> Silvas currere mobiles,
> Amnes stare coegerat,
> Iunxitque intrepidum latus
> Sevis cerva leonibus,
> Nec visum timuit lepus,
> Iam cantu placidum canem . . . (ll. 5–13)

HEAVY POETIC WEEPING

'Vates Treicius' (l. 6) is translated as 'the poet Orpheus' (stanza 1), a rendering which could easily have come from elementary knowledge about Orpheus as a Thracian poet. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that it reflects Chaucer's 'the

poete of Trace (*Orpheus*)' (ll. 3–4) and Trevet's gloss 'VATES TREICIUS id est Orpheus qui erat de Tracia'. 'Wiþ heuynesse' (stanza 1) is an addition. Orpheus does not weep with heavyness as such in the original. However, these words correspond to 'gravis' (l. 3), 'heavy', as in

> Felix qui potuit gravis
> Terre solvere vincla. (ll. 3–4)

When Walton rendered these lines as

> And wel is hym þat may himself vnfolde
> Fro bondes of þis worldly wrecchidnesse (stanza 1)

he did not include 'gravis' in them. In order to tidy away this left-over he moves a rendering of 'gravis' into his next English sentence by turning it from an adjective into a noun and appending it to 'Orpheus', thereby echoing Trevet's gloss on 'gravis terre' which associates the heavy earth with the affections of men:

> GRAVIS TERRE que scilicet sua gravitate homines per affeccionem sibi vinculatos deorsum trahit.

Orpheus is indisputably such a man, burdened with grief: 'heuynesse' suits him.

EXPOUNDING AND ENDITING

Chaucer and Walton follow Trevet's commentary in simplifying and clarifying the text of Boethius. But, it may be asked, which of the two, Chaucer or Walton, achieves the greater simplicity and clarity? Chaucer seems to be considerably more ungainly and less digestible.

> The poete of Trace (*Orpheus*), that whilom hadde ryght greet sorwe for the deth of his wyf, aftir that he hadde makid by his weeply songes the wodes moevable to renne, and hadde makid the ryveris to stonden stille, and hadde maked the hertes and the hyndes to joynen dreedles here sydes to cruel lyouns (*for to herknen his song*), and hadde maked that the hare was nat agast of the hound, which was plesed by his song . . . (ll. 3–13)

To be fair to Chaucer, however, he is probably trying to be faithful to the complex structures of the Latin. In so doing he follows Jean de Meun quite closely.[14] But Walton, to be fair to him in his turn, was writing under the considerable constraints of rhyme and metre in addition to the pressure of commentary-tradition and the exigencies of *expositio sententie*, which makes his achievement all the more worthy of attention.

[14] Cf. T. W. Machan, *Techniques of Translation: Chaucer's Boece* (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1985) 114–24. Machan's theory that the *Boece* is an unrevised draft may account for the ungainliness of some of its rendering. For Jean's version of the Orpheus metre see V. L. Dedeck-Héry, 'Boethius' *De Consolatione* by Jean de Meun', *MS* 14 (1952): 165–275 (III met. 12, ll. 2–7; p. 232).

Turning now to a more precise examination of Walton's methods of translating the entire *narratio*, it may be seen that he is engaging in the rendering of syntactically complex Latin into a sequence of shorter English main clauses and clauses with finite verbs. He takes a participial or ablative absolute type of construction and renders it in English as a clause with a finite verb. His text therefore has an appearance (more than does the Latin) of being composed of a series of facts or events. This effect is heightened because the verse-format tends to divide facts and events according to the line. Such dividing and rearranging go hand-in-hand with the manner of proceeding of the commentator, for instance Trevet himself, who re-orders his text in individually digestible parts.

In expounding the lines 'Inmites superos querens / Infernas adiit domos' (ll. 18–19), Walton produces a clear sequence of events. Whereas Boethius' Orpheus approaches hell complaining of the gods above, Walton's Orpheus first of all complains, then says that the gods dealt with him cruelly and tells us why, and finally goes to the infernal houses.

> Of hyhe goddes gan he to compleyn,
> And seyde þei deden wiþ hym cruelly
> Þat þei ne sent hym noght his wyf ageyn.
>
> He wente þan to houses infernall . . . (stanzas 3–4)

In this passage, as elsewhere, English constructions merely mirroring the Latin syntax are not favoured, for Walton strives for a lucid vernacular eloquence rather than a mock-Latin complexity. The same is true of his rendering of 'Silvas currere mobiles, / Amnes stare coegerat' (ll. 8–9) as 'Made wodes for to renne [wonderly], / He made stremes stonden [and abyde]' (stanzas 1–2). The two Latin lines are well integrated, tied together by the main verb 'coegerat' which completes the construction. The parallel plural accusative-plus-infinitive structures reinforce each other with a harmony of inflexions, a device emphasising that the running woods and standing streams are equally impossible. The adjective 'mobiles' is employed where in normal usage there would be an adverb: this poetic usage harmonises happily with 'silvas' and 'amnes'. Chaucer translates 'silvas mobiles' literally as 'wodes moevable' (l. 7). However, Trevet had noted of 'mobiles' that Boethius has indeed put an adjective where an adverb would be more normal: 'MOBILES id est mobiliter: ponitur enim adiectivum pro adverbio.' And so Walton, following Trevet, opts for an adverb to render 'mobiles', but his choice 'wonderly' does not translate the literal sense of 'mobiles' or 'mobiliter'. This is done, presumably, because a literal translation of the adverb 'mobiliter' would entail attaching a rather tautological intensifier to its assumed verb 'renne'. 'Wonderly', paired in alliteration to 'wodes' (as 'silvas' was paired, under poetic licence, with 'mobiles'), stresses that the mobility of the trees is indeed as miraculous as Boethius' poetic description suggests. In similar vein the additional verb 'abyde' is inserted, because it indicates miraculous volition and awareness in normally inanimate, non-sentient 'stremes'.

In altering the Latin in these two lines Walton does justice to nuances in the original, and he does it with conscious attention to such features of English

style as smooth prosodic correctness and the ornaments of assonance and alliteration. Likewise, in the next line, 'The hynde fered not of houndes fell', 'houndes fell' is actually additional to Boethius' Latin and serves to complete a deliberate *h/f* plus *h/f* sound pattern which includes the near-homophony of 'hounde' and 'hynde'. Similar is the alliteration in the following line with its play on 'lyoun' and 'lyen': 'Sche lete þe lyoun lyen by here syde.' Such palpable literary artifice would have undoubtedly appealed to a late-medieval appreciation of fine writing.

A MORE ORPHIC ORPHEUS?

Walton highlights and exaggerates key characteristics of Orpheus as a poet in his version of this passage—

> Nec qui cuncta subegerant
> Mulcerent dominum modi,
> Inmites superos querens
> Infernas adiit domos.
> Illic blanda sonantibus
> Cordis carmina temperans
> Quicquid precipuis dee
> Matris fontibus hauserat,
> Quod luctus dabat inpotens,
> Quod luctum geminans amor,
> Deflet Trenera commovens
> Et dulci veniam prece
> Umbrarum dominos rogat. (ll. 16–28)

—which he renders as follows:

> His songes þat had so many a wylde best
> So meke made to lyuen comynly,
> They myghte hym not comforten vtterly.
> Of hyhe goddes gan he to compleyn,
> And seide þei deden wiþ hym cruelly
> That þei ne sent hym noght his wyf ageyn.
>
> He wente þan to houses infernall
> And faste his strenges þere dressed he,
> And sowned out þe swete songes all
> Þat he had tasted of the welles thre,
> Whiche þat his modres were, Calliope
> Þat is goddesse and chief of eloquence,
> To wordes þat most piteous might be,
> As sorwe had toght hym be experience,
>
> And loue also þat doubleth heuynesse.
> To helle began he his compleynt to make,
> Askyng mercy þere with lawenesse
> At þilke lordes of the schades blake. (stanzas 3–5)

'Mulcerent' (l. 17, meaning 'soothed'), which refers to the fact that Orpheus was not soothed by his own measures, becomes 'comforten' (stanza 3) in English, which is the stock rendering of the more literary 'consolare'. Similarly, 'querens' (l. 18) is rendered with an emphasis on formal literary complaint, for it becomes 'compleyn' (stanza 3), whereas Chaucer goes only as far as 'pleynid hym' (l. 17). In the same vein 'Deflet Trenera commovens' (l. 26) becomes 'To helle began he his compleynt to make' (stanza 5), whereas Chaucer, following more literally the words of the Boethian text, has 'he commoevede the helle' (l. 27). Here Walton is emphasising the composition of a work of a definite genre. He does not even tell us that Orpheus moved hell, which is what this line means in the Latin. Instead, he declares that Orpheus makes a complaint and then he lets the reactions of the inhabitants of hell themselves speak for Orpheus' poetic success, a somewhat more dramatic presentation than that offered in the original. Trevet's gloss on 'Deflet Trenera commovens' links the Underworld to lamentation, for that is what 'Trenera' means:

> DEFLET inquam COMMOVENS TRENARA [sic] id est inferna et dicuntur Trenara quasi lamentabilia a trenus treni quod est lamentacio.

A corresponding noun to 'lamentacio' is the one used by Walton: 'compleynt', denoting a type of poem.

Another example of Orpheus' stature as a poet being emphasised through the employment of a gloss from Trevet occurs when the lines 'Quicquid precipuis dee / Matris fontibus hauserat' (ll. 22–3), which speak of whatever excellence Orpheus drew from his mother, become

> Þat he had tasted of the welles thre
> Whiche þat his modres were, Calliope
> Þat is goddesse and chief of eloquence . . . (stanza 4).

In Walton's English it is added that the wells are three in number; that the name of Orpheus' mother is Calliope, and that she is chief of eloquence. The only part of this available from Chaucer is the name 'Calliope' (l. 23). But all the additional material is provided in Trevet's gloss.

> QUICQUID HAUSERAT PRECIPUIS FONTIBUS MATRIS DEE scilicet Calliope: fontes autem Caliope, que dicitur eloquencia, sunt tres scilicet gramatica rethorica dyaletica. Principaliores sunt autem rethorica et dialetica unde totum effudit in eloquenciam quod de istis fontibus hauserat . . .

Walton's Orpheus tastes songs from his mother's wells: the word 'tasted' is not in the original. The picture of him tasting his songs at three wells enhances the miraculous and inspirational element in his presentation as a poet. Similarly, he 'sowned out þe swete songes all . . . To wordes þat most piteous might be' (stanza 4). Here the word 'swete' is not a literal translation of Boethius' 'blanda' (l. 20), which means 'gentle, enticing, smooth-tongued', but it does reflect Trevet's gloss on these particular lines:

> ILLIC TEMPERANS BLANDA CARMINA CHORDIS SONANTIBUS quod dicit propter suavitatem et dulcedinem eloquencie eius . . .

Trevet highlights the sweetness of Orpheus' eloquence, 'dulcedinem eloquencie eius', and Walton takes care to include it in his text. Although it is an inspired eloquence it is nevertheless presented as being an eloquence of conscious craft, because he is depicted as deliberately choosing 'wordes þat most piteous might be'. This portrayal is not in Boethius or Chaucer, but it does have roots in Trevet's gloss on 'Quod luctus dabat inpotens' (l. 24) which introduces the subject of putting words into a song.

> DEFLET ECIAM OMNE QUOD IMPOTENS LUCTUS DABAT
> quasi diceret omnia verba ad que homo per luctum impellitur posuit in carmine . . .

By incorporating Trevet's 'verba' into his text Walton presents an Orpheus choosing more consciously than his Boethian counterpart the most affective words that might be ('wordes þat most piteous might be').

The 'lawenesse' with which Orpheus asks mercy of the Lord of the Underworld is not to be found in Boethius, Chaucer or even Trevet.

> Askyng mercy þere wiþ lawenesse
> At þilke lordes of the schades blake. (stanza 5)

This late-medieval Orpheus is accorded a humility proper to the poet as petitioner. We shall discuss later Walton's own equally correct literary manners in the eloquent humility in each of his *Prefaciones Translatoris*, which are both addressed to Elizabeth Berkeley and also to God.

The reaction of the lord of the black shades to the poetic appeal is worthy of attention. Whenever he speaks in Boethius (ll. 40–3) and in Chaucer (ll. 45–52) he uses the official first person plural. Walton shifts his response to Orpheus' poetry into the first person singular to emphasise that the judge's personal emotions have undeniably been stirred.

> 'Tyte me haþ conuyct, I will restore
> This man his wyf þus wonnen wiþ his song.' (stanza 7)

Moreover, when 'þe juge of helle peynes strong' asserts the condition under which Erudice may be kept he noticeably changes to his official 'we'.

> 'If he beholde vpon his wyf ageyne,
> Hys wyf fro hym eftsone will we take.' (stanza 8)

This reversion to the plural draws further attention to the special use of the singular.

DOUBLE ENTENDRE AND LEAVING THE WIFE BEHIND

The *sentence* of the speech of the lord of the Underworld is expounded with considerable rhetorical skill. In the Latin Orpheus is told that a law restricts the gift, i.e. that, while leaving Tartarus, he should not turn his gaze.

> 'Set lex dona coherceat,
> Nec, dum Tartara liquerit,
> Fas sit lumina flectere.' (ll. 44–6)

It is Englished thus:

> 'Bot with a lawe þis gift wil I restreyne
> Þat vnto he thise bondes haue forsake,
> If he beholde vpon his wyf ageyne,
> Hys wyf fro hym eftsone will we take.' (stanza 8)

The last line of Walton's rendering is not in Boethius, but there is a precedent for it in Chaucer's 'hys wyf schal comen ageyn unto us' (ll. 51–2). The rendering of 'dum Tartara liquerit' (l. 45), literally 'while he leaves Tartarus', is of special interest. Expounded as 'vnto he thise bondes haue forsake', it has a palpable double meaning. 'Bondes' means both 'boundaries, bounds, borders' and 'bonds, chains', in other words those selfsame 'bondes of þis worldly wrecchidnesse' encountered in stanza 1. The bonds of heavy earth and the bounds of hell stand for the same things. The word 'forsake' is also apt because it means both the physical leaving of hell and the moral forsaking of all the worldly wretchedness which Tartarus and the chains of heavy earth represent. Walton's rendering here also reflects Trevet's particular gloss on part of this passage, which equates leaving Tartarus with the removal of the *affectus* from earthly cares: 'LIQUERIT TARTARA id est donec affectus abstractus fuerit a terrenis.'

The same play on 'bondes' is still active in the treatment of the famous lines

> Heu, noctis prope terminos
> Orpheus Eurditem suam
> Vidit, perdidit, occidit. (ll. 49–51)

These are translated

> When he was neygh out of þe bondes blake,
> He turned hym and Erudice he saw.
>
> Allas he lost and left his wyf behynde. (stanzas 8–9)

'Terminos' (l. 49), translated as 'termes' and glossed as 'boundes' by Chaucer (ll. 57–8), is rendered as 'bondes', the same word previously used to render 'vincla' (l. 4) and 'Tartara' (l. 45), as we have discussed. Again Walton puns according to the *sentence*. Also of interest is 'he turned hym', for which there is no equivalent in the Latin. Evidently he acquired it from Chaucer's 'lokede abakward' (ll. 58–9) and Trevet's gloss on 'vidit' (l. 51): 'VIDIT respiciendo a tergo'. More interesting is the translation of 'occidit' (l. 51) as 'he left his wyf behynde'; this renders not the literal sense of Boethius but Trevet's gloss on this word, 'OCCIDIT in inferno eam relinquendo', which states that he left her behind. Thus, Orpheus does not kill his Eurydice. He leaves her behind. Why? The answer lies in the glosses in which the *affectus* is held to sink back down into earthly cares and delights, 'in delectacione temporalium fovendo', as Trevet puts it. The *affectus* cannot die as such. It does not cease to be. It is, therefore, more consistent with Trevet's exposition that the idea of leaving/forsaking, so central to the *sentence* of the metre, be dominant. By contrast, Chaucer translates 'occidit' as 'and was deed': his Orpheus dies. Walton does not follow this.

Finally, it may be added that, by rendering 'occidit' as he does, perhaps Walton sought to avoid the problem of whether 'occidit' means 'killed' or 'was undone'.[18]

IV. The Prefaces: Walton as Sapient Orpheus

In his English translation of the Orpheus-metre Walton gives every indication of striving to render an *expositio sententie* in eloquent form. His prefaces show that this indeed is his intention. He draws on the Orpheus-metre to portray himself as a poet who, unlike Orpheus, will not betray himself into averting his gaze from the *summum bonum*; thereby Walton adopts a pose akin to that of a 'Sapient Orpheus'.

In the preface which precedes the whole work it would appear that he wants the best of all worlds. His ideal formula is the age-old commonplace of sapience and eloquence (in which Orpheus was held to be instructed in Trevet's commentary: see above, pp. 142–3). His guide to sapience is the Christian God, whose humble instrument he is. But this obedient literary instrument is very much tuned to eloquence, however much he may protest that he lacks poetic ability. Officially, perhaps even rather officiously, he pushes aside the idea of his own eloquence with a palpably eloquent welter of modesty topoi. This is done in discussing the difficult subject-matter of his source, its excellence, and the intimidating shadows of his recently 'canonised' fellow-poets, Chaucer and Gower. He indicates his intention of overgoing Chaucer by alluding disparagingly to a blameworthy involvement in *Troilus* with paganism and worldly affections, at the same time as he draws attention to his own principle of sapience. But, even though the Muse has been rejected Walton continues to write in artificial, ornate and rhetorically coloured verse, and thus in reality adheres to the commonplace combination of *sapientia et eloquentia*.

Important precedents for and examples of *sapientia et eloquentia* were available to Walton. At the beginning of Cicero's *De Inventione*, one of the most used and authoritative textbooks for the teaching of rhetoric in the

[18] 'Occidit' here means 'was undone': this is deducible from the metre, which demands 'occidit', the intransitive, and not the transitive 'occidit'. Perhaps there is some warrant for Chaucer's 'and was deed' in a gloss or medieval dictionary. 'Occidit' in classical times did carry as one of its senses 'perished' (cf. *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879) under *occido* I.B.2, p. 1251). Trevet's 'OCCIDIT in inferno eam relinquendo' suggests that he took it to mean 'killed', and he was a good linguist, good enough in fact to be able to read King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Boethius and make use of it [as Brian Donaghey demonstrates in his article in this book]. Trevet was also aware of metre: the first thing he notes in commenting on Bk III met. 12 is that it is in glyconic metre like Bk I met. 6: 'FELIX QUI POTUIT metrum xii et ultimum istius tercii libri quod dicitur Gliconium de quo habitum est supra libro primo metro sexto.' Indeed Trevet is by no means on his own in assuming a meaning of 'killed' for this word because this rendering is to be found in the two most-used modern translations of Boethius, in the Loeb edition, *Boethius: The Theological Tractates, The Consolation of Philosophy*, ed. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand, trans. S. J. Tester (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard UP and Heinemann, 1973) 310–11, and in *Boethius: The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. V. E. Watts (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969) 114.

NB For Brian Donaghey's article, cited in the above footnote, see 'Nicholas Trevet's Use of King Alfred's Translation of Boethius, and the Dating of his Commentary', in The Medieval Boethius, ed. Minnis, 1–31.

Middle Ages, the author puts a considerable emphasis on the importance of wisdom and eloquence as an integral pair of ideas at the very nub of moral and civilised behaviour. Cicero declares that there must have been a great and wise man who instigated the arts of civilisation, and also persuaded his fellows by eloquence to follow reason and cease their brutish ways.[16] This rather reminds us of Orpheus. What is vitally important in *De Inventione* is the doctrine that wisdom actually needs eloquence in order for it to be appreciated and implemented. It is vital for humans to have the 'eloquence to persuade their fellows of the truth of what they had discovered by reason', for a 'mute and voiceless wisdom' has no chance of success.[17] Such an attitude is in harmony with Boethius, Gower, and Walton himself: they all use poetic form in their highly sapiential works. Cicero also states the necessity of wisdom for eloquence, for 'eloquence without wisdom is generally disadvantageous and never helpful'.[18]

Not only could the later Middle Ages count on Cicero for an authoritative conception of *sapientia et eloquentia*; they also had the ultimate example of St Jerome himself, the most revered of all translators, whose rendering of the Bible was believed to have satisfied every possible demand of wisdom and eloquence. Under the heading 'interpres' ('translator') in John of Genoa's *Catholicon* there is a fascinating account of Jerome's Latin Vulgate as being at once faithful to Christian teaching and eloquent.

> De hebreo autem in latinum eloquium tantummodo Ieronimus presbiter trium linguarum peritus easdem scripturas convertit eloquenter que transfudit cuius interpretacio merito ceteris antefertur. Nam est verborum tenacior. et in sentencijs veracior. et in verbis clarior. atque utpote a christiano interprete verior.[19]

Jerome outstripped his predecessors. He translated 'eloquenter' ('eloquently'), and his version was 'truer' in its *sententiae* ('in sentencijs veracior'), which means that it was truer to Christian teaching. Given the literary qualities which medieval commentators noted in the Bible it was necessary for a Bible-translator to use eloquence as a means of being faithful to the original.

In the same way, Walton evidently saw eloquence as necessitated by the authority of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. Indeed, he had ample warrant from Boethius himself for applying *eloquentia et sapientia*, for the work shows how poetry can serve wisdom, and how, if abused, can undermine it.

The affective powers of poetry are capable of disrupting reason or right belief, thereby impeding a proper appreciation of the *summum bonum*. At the very beginning of the work the wretched and unenlightened Boethius speaks 'weeping measures' ('flebilis modos') without sapience, his reason overwhelmed by his affections and his gaze therefore averted from the Sovereign Good (I met. 1.2). Seeing this, Philosophy drives away the Muses.

[16] Cf. Cicero, *De Inventione* I.ii.2–3 in *Cicero: De Inventione, De Optimo Genere Oratorum, Topica*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (London and Cambridge, Mass.: Heinemann and Harvard University Press, 1949) 4–7.
[17] Cf. Cicero, *De Inventione* I.i.3 (pp. 6–7).
[18] Cf. Cicero, *De Inventione* I.i.1 (pp. 2–3).
[19] John of Genoa, *Catholicon*, s.v. *interpres* (Mainz, 1460; rep. Westmead: Gregg, 1971) unfol.

On the positive side, Philosophy is perfectly prepared to grant, in Bk II pr. 1, that, when sweet rhetoric is constrained by philosophy, then it is fine, desirable and useful to her ends, which she proves repeatedly throughout *De Consolatione Philosophiae* by expounding her doctrines in poetic form. It is therefore fitting that her commendation invoking poetry, though in prose in the original, is rendered in poetic form in English.

> Com forth now swetnes rethorien
> Wiþ sotilte of suasioun
> Wiche only þenne thi weles canst demene
> When thow ne leuest oure instituciouη.
> Musik also wiþ swetnesse of thi sown,
> Þat art a damysele of oure awne house,
> Attempre wel thi tunes vp and doun
> Þat to þis man may be deliciouse. (stanza 6; p. 63)

The *sentence* of philosophy has more impact on human hearts when expressed in song: witness the reation of Boethius in Bk III pr. 1 to the verses about love which Lady Philosophy has just delivered. Boethius exclaims:

> 'Oo soueraigne solace of hertes þus distressed,
> Youre sentence and 3oure songes boþe infere
> Ful hugely my langour haþ repressed,
> . .
> In so ferforth þat now, as semeth me,
> I haue i-nogh of strengthe and suffisaunce
> As peregal to alle aduersitee.' (stanzas 1–2; p. 125)

Sentence and song are assimilated together ('infere').

When, in the *Prologus* which is placed after the *Prefacio Translatoris* and before Bk I, Walton describes *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, he states clearly that rhetoric, verse, philosophy and even 'recreacioun' are the prime features of the work. Boethius

> . . . as for a recreacioun
> Berwyng hym-self in philosophie
> He wrot þis book of consolacioun
> . .
> In prose and metre enterchaungyngly
> Wiþ wordes set in colour wonder wele
> Of rethoryk endited craftily;
> And schewyng þat þis welþ is temporele
> And noght to be desired neuer a dele
> Ne worldly meschief noþyng for to drede,
> Enforsyng vs be resoun naturele
> To vertu fully for to taken hede. (stanza 11; pp. 7–8)

Walton knew his duties to his *auctor*, and one of these was to do justice to his eloquence. In the opening lines of his preface Walton declares, under the guise

of an inability-topos, the four qualities necessary to proper translation, and the last of these is eloquence:

> Insuffischaunce of cunnyng and of wit
> Defaut of langage and of eloquence
> Pis work from me schuld haue withholdyn 3it. (stanza 1; p. 1)

'Cunnyng' is the knowledge and ability necessary to the task in hand. 'Wit' is intelligence. 'Defaut of langage' could refer to either or both of Walton's own personal lack of linguistic resourcefulness or the shortcomings of the English language for the treatment of such an exalted and difficult Latin work. Lastly, 'eloquence' is seen as not a bonus but a necessity.

Having named the four qualities needed for proper translation, Walton proceeds to discuss the first two of them, 'cunnyng' and 'wit', in greater detail. He complains that

> This subtile matere of boecius
> Heere in þis book of consolacioun
> So hye it is, so hard and curious
> Ful fair abouen myn estimacioun . . . (stanza 2)

The Latin term *materia* was used in the schools and in commentaries on *auctores*. Like its English counterpart here, 'matere', it means not only 'subject matter'/ 'content' but also the notion of a whole literary source.[20] Not only is the 'matere' of Boethius difficult because it is 'subtile' in its philosophical content, but also because it is the work of a revered and respected *auctor* whose *auctoritas* must not be undermined by misunderstanding. He is claiming that *De Consolatione Philosophiae* is above his independent faculty of judgement. He says that it is 'abouen' his 'estimacioun', his *vis estimativa*. Not content to bemoan this just once, he repeats his complaint in the *Prefacio Translatoris* to Bks IV and V.

> Lo of so hye a mater for to trete
> As after þis myn auctour doth pursue,
> This wote I well, my wittes ben vnmete
> The sentence for to saue in metre trewe. (stanza 3; p. 210)

Not only, then, does he lack the intelligence ('wittes') to preserve the *sentence*; he also has the difficulty of preserving 'metre trewe'.

Walton's solution for these difficulties is to pray for the guidance of God.

> This mater wiche þat is so excellent
> And passeth boþe my cunnyng and my myght
> So saue it lord in þy gouernement
> Þat kannest reformen alle þing to right. (stanza 3)

Here Walton is relying on the stock theory of instrumental efficient causality, in which the writer is conceived of as the operative cause and God as the

[20] Cf. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* 21.

ultimate moving or permissive cause.'[21] He entrusts his enterprise to the governing influence of God, who has the power to correct his deficiencies. With the help of God the teaching of the text will be preserved: 'With help of god þe sentence schal I saue' (stanza 4), he declares with all the certainty of faith. The word 'schal' is employed with intentional cunning, for it can mean 'must' as well as 'shall'. So, paradoxically, there is on one side the sense of a difficult duty for a man of limited ability, and on the other side an overridingly confident Christian writer at ease with his instrumentality asserting that he shall 'fro þe text . . . ne vary noght / But kepe þe sentence in his trewe entent' (stanza 3). Thus he will be able to expound the *sentence*, as a proper translator-commentator.

It is fitting that the divine *auctor* of all wisdom, which is the subject and *sentence* of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, should be the object of Walton's prayer.

> Þat it be noght be my translacioun
> Defouled ne corrupt to god I praye.
> So helpe me wiþ hys inspiracioun
> Þat is of wisdom boþe lok and keye. (stanza 2)

In God the truths of wisdom are hidden and revealed: He is lock and key to them, and provides inspiration better than that of any Muse. With God's aid neither the *sentence* nor the intrinsic literary qualities, which are part and parcel of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, shall be 'defouled ne corrupt' by Walton's rendering. A proper English verse Boethius owes it to the Latin original to keep good metre, and this particular concern manifests itself in the intention of putting the requirements of metre before those of word-for-word translating. He proposes to use 'wordes . . . als neigh as may be broght / Where lawe of metir is noght reisistent' (stanza 3). In no way does this relegation of word-for-word rendering contradict the earlier statements (stanza 3) that there will be neither variation from the text nor misrendering of the 'sentence in hys trewe entent', because Walton is not essentially a word-for-word translator. He is in the tradition of Jerome, who declared that his translation of Job followed sometimes the words, sometimes the sense, and sometimes both at once: 'vel verbum e verbo, vel sensu e sensu, vel ex utroque commistum'.[22] He also follows his professional predecessor John Trevisa who, in his epistle to Lord Berkeley on the occasion of the translating of Higden's *Polychronicon*, declared that he indeed changed word order and construction, but never the sense: 'But for all such changing, the meaning shall stand and not be changed.'[23] To translate word for word could destroy the *sentence*. Metre, however, offers a challenge to the inventive *makere* to reconcile the demands of prosody and *expositio sententie*, a challenge all the more awesome

[21] Cf. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* 74–84, for discussion of literary applications of the theory of instrumental efficient causality.
[22] Cf. Letter 57 to Pammachius, in *Patrologia latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844–64) 28, col. 1138C.
[23] *The Epistle of Sir John Trevisa, Chaplain unto Lord Thomas of Berkley, upon the translation of Polychronicon into our English tongue*, in *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, ed. Alfred W. Pollard (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1903) 209–10.

with a work of such philosophical and literary prestige as *De Consolatione Philosophiae*.

Neither Chaucer nor Gower took up this particular gauntlet. Neither made a complete verse translation of Boethius. This left a gap in the canon of English poets for Walton and it presented commercial opportunities to all those makers of books who contributed to the considerable circulation of his work. Chaucer's *Boece*, being written in rather laboured prose, lacked the appeal of verse, and according to common critical opinion was not intended for general circulation and was written for the purpose of studying the Latin original. Walton's work, by contrast, was clearly intended as an English Boethius complete with both *sentence* and vernacular eloquence.

Walton claims knowledge of English verse and prose translating of *De Consolatione Philosophiae*: 'diuerse men' have translated Boethius, some 'in metir' and some 'in prose pleyne' (stanza 4). This last reference could well be to Chaucer's *Boece* which is indeed translated 'pleyne', that is with renderings clarifying the *sentence* of the original although at times following Latin constructions in a manner not always natural to English.[14] But what about the reference to English renderings in verse? It could be an allusion to Chaucer who in *Troilus* (III. 1744–71; IV. 974–1078) translates Bk II met. 8 and a substantial passage of Bk V pr. 3 into his poem.[15] Walton knew *Troilus*, for in this same preface he manifests an ambition to outdo the poet of *Troilus* (see below, pp. 161–2). It should also be said that it is not impossible that he had knowledge of *French* verse or verse-and-prose translations of Boethius, and was extrapolating from that.[16]

He writes about Chaucer and Gower as if intimidated by their reputations and excellence:

> To Chaucer þat is floure of rethoryk
> In Englisshe tong and excellent poete,
> This wot I wel, no þing may I do like,
> Þogh so þat I of makyng entirmete;
> And Gower þat so craftily doþ trete
> As in his bookes of moralite;
> Þogh I to þeym in makyng am vnmete,
> Yit must I schewe it forth þat is in me. (stanza 5)

And so, as early as 1410, it would appear that already a canon of English literary excellence was established or at least thinkable. We should not let Walton's own modesty topoi mislead us into thinking that he did not consider his own 'makyng' to be competing in the same field of fine writing: indeed, the canon of Oseney aspired to inclusion in the canon of poets. After all, he does refer to his own activity as that of 'makyng' twice in this stanza, just as later in this same preface he uses the word 'endite' (stanza 8). Also worthy of note is

24b [14] Cf. Glynnis Cropp's discussion of the corresponding French term 'plaine' in her contribution to this anthology, pp. 72–5.

[15] For *Troilus* see Robinson's edition, 385–479.

[16] See J. Keith Atkinson, 'An Early Fourteenth-Century French Boethian Orpheus', *Parergon* 26 (April, 1980) 52pp., for a French verse translation of the Orpheus metre. For other French verse (and prose) translations see the essays by Glynnis Cropp and J. Keith Atkinson in this anthology.

24b For Glynnis Cropp's article, see 'Le Livre de Boece de Consolacion: From Translation to Glossed Text', in The Medieval Boethius, ed. Minnis, 63–88, pp.72–75.

the assumption that English is a language capable of eloquence and flights of rhetoric—and, moreover, the treatment of high moral 'matere', for Gower is distinguished for writing about 'moralite' 'craftily'; that is, he uses his eloquent skills as a *makere* to 'trete' his sapiential 'matere'."[19] The proper rôle of eloquence is as the servant of wisdom. Walton views any deviation from this principle with open abhorrence.

The rhetorical climax of Walton's preface consists of a rejection of the excessive worldly affectivity of pagan Muses, of Chaucer in *Troilus* (when he invokes the Fury Thesiphone), and of Orpheus as depicted in Bk III met. 12. All these are spurned in favour of the benign inspiration of the Christian God who is the true *summum bonum*.

Saint Jerome, patron saint of translators, Church Father and holy man,[20] is invoked to lend authority to Walton's own distaste for the false gods of pagan antiquity and the worldly desires associated with them as found in 'þese olde poysees derk', in other words the classical fables in which such wretched material abounds.

> Noght liketh me to labour ne to muse
> Upon þese olde poysees derk,
> For Cristes feith suche þinges schulde refuse;
> Witnes upon Ierom þe holy clerk.
> Hit schulde not ben a Cristen mannes werk
> The false goddes names to renewe,
> For he þat hath resayued Cristes merk,
> If he do so to Crist he is vntrewe. (stanza 6)

It follows that Venus is rejected as 'oure gyde', for she is only a guide fit for 'foule lustes'. A true guide, as it says in Bk IV pr. 1, is Lady Philosophy, the 'soueraigne gidoresse of verrey light' (stanza 2; p. 213), and the ultimate guide is God.

Walton shows himself in his true colours, rhetorical colours at that, when he uses the 'pagan eloquence versus Christian sapience' discussion to outdo both Orpheus and Chaucer. The benign influence of God renders insignificant the eloquence that the Muse Calliope or the Furies could provide.

> And certayn I haue tasted wonder lyte
> As of the welles of calliope
> No wonder þough I sympilly endite,

[19] Cf. Minnis's study of Gower's rôle as *sapiens* in the *Confessio Amantis*, in *Medieval Theory of Authorship* 177–90.

[20] As an *auctor* Jerome was thought to have lived a holy life befitting the great translator of the Bible. Walton says that Jerome was holy (as well as a clerk) because his goodness authenticates what he wrote. In the same vein good living was seen to be part and parcel of good translating in a declaration made in the prologue to the second version of the Wycliffite Bible: '. . . bi þis maner wiþ good lyuyng and greet trauel, men moun come to truþe and cleer translating and trew vnderstonding of holi writ. . . .' Cf. 'Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible, Chapter 15', in *Selections from Wycliffite Writings*, ed. Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 72. Similarly, Walton's contemporary fellow-translator, Nicholas Love, recommended Walter Hilton as a 'holy lyuyere'. Cf. *Nicholas Love: The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, ed. Lawrence F. Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908) 165.

Yit will I not vnto Tessiphone
Ne to Allecto ne to Megare
Besechyn after craft of eloquence,
But pray þat god of hys benignite
My spirit enspire wiþ hys influence . . . (stanza 8)

The reference to the 'welles of calliope' alludes to the Orpheus metre (stanza 4). We have already discussed how Walton emphasised the eloquence of these wells by using additional material from Trevet (see above, p. 151), and how Orpheus' poetic gifts in the end did not render him invulnerable to worldly wretchedness. In similar vein Orpheus is trumped in the *Prefacio Translatoris* to Bks IV and V, for here we find a prayer addressed not to wells of eloquence but 'To þe þat art þe welle of sapience, / All-myghti lord' (stanza 9). This prayer is strategically placed for maximum effect immediately after the Orpheus metre. It is also significant that following Bk V in the printed edition of 1525 there are some acrostic verses containing the names of Walton and his patron, a prayer to the Christian God and also an address to the writer's 'souereyn lady', who is named, appropriately, 'lady Sapience', whom the poet, coveting her excellence, aims to please.[29]

Walton refers in the above passage to the Furies, because in Trevet's glosses on the Orpheus metre they are expounded individually as three excesses of the will: Allecto as cupidity ('cupiditatem'); Thesiphone as lust ('libidinem'); and Megera as anger ('iram'). Thesiphone, highlighted by being mentioned first, represents the same 'foule lustes' (stanza 7) associated with the pagan gods. As the voice of the Furies ('supposita vox' in Trevet) it is she who bursts forth into words.[30] As such she is diametrically opposite to the reasoned eloquence of Boethius and as a guide for a poet she could not be more different from the benign and sapient God whose humble literary instrument Walton wants to be. Thus he spurns the eloquence of the Furies.

However, there was a poet who did call on the Fury Thesiphone to aid his poetic endeavours. Chaucer, in the opening lines of *Troilus*, invokes her to help him write about the affective excesses of love.

Thesiphone, thow help me for t'endite
Thise woful vers, that wepen as I write.

To the clepe I, thow goddesse of torment,
Thow cruwel Furie, sorwynge evere yn peyne,
Help me, that am the sorwful instrument,
That helpeth loveres, as I kan, to pleyne. (*Troilus* I. 6–11)

This passage shows that the narrator of *Troilus* is intentionally cast as being overwhelmed by the affections and thoroughly unenlightened by the *summum bonum*. To drive the point home Chaucer depicts his verses as weeping while he writes. 'Vers, that wepen as I write' echoes not only 'flebilis . . . modos' (l. 2), the tearful measures of Boethius at the beginning of Bk I met. 1, but

[29] Cf. Science's introduction, xliii–xliv.
[30] Cf. Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer* 52.

also the 'flebilibus modis' (l. 7) of the grief-stricken Orpheus in Bk III met. 12 (which Chaucer also translated in the *Boece*).

Clearly, Walton is alluding strongly to Chaucer's use of Thesiphone and declaring a stance of formal opposition to it when he says that he will not 'besechyn after craft of eloquence' 'vnto Tessiphone' but pray for the inspiration of God instead; for he knew all too well that such weeping measures were the classic hallmark of Boethian unenlightenment. A poet who is the declared instrument of God must surely be superior to 'the sorwful instrument' (l. 10) and the servant of the servants of the God of Love. It is, then, evidently with *Troilus* in mind that Walton, openly contrasting himself with Chaucer, refuses 'to whette now þe dartes of cupide' or invoke Venus so that 'we may oure foule lustes wynne' (stanza 7). Unlike Chaucer, he offers neither approval nor help to lovers. Instead of Chaucer's mock-episcopal preaching to lovers Walton performs a genuinely pious 'obseruaunce' in honour of the *summum bonum* with the laudable intention of serving and pleasing his patron, as he openly states in the closing lines of this preface:

> In honour of þat sofferayn blisfulnesse
> And eke in reuerence of youre [i.e. his patron's] worthinesse
> This simple werk as for an obseruance
> I schal begynne after my simpelnesse
> In wil to do 3our seruice and plesance. (stanza 9)

In the light of Walton's attitude to *Troilus*, his choice of the word 'seruice' invites comment. It is fitting that he should take this term from the language of courtly love and give it a sapient application.

Pointed allusion is used not only in detraction of the poet of *Troilus*, but also of Orpheus. Material very closely paralleling Walton's own *expositio sententie* in the Orpheus metre is employed to advertise his suitability as a translator of Boethius. The same beholding of 'verrey blisfulnesse' and shunning of 'þis worldly wrecchidnesse' (stanza 1) so prominent in Bk III met. 12 govern his self-presentation as a divinely inspired instrument of wisdom. He wishes to demonstrate that he is, therefore, unlike Orpheus who, averting his gaze from the *summum bonum*, looked back down into the hell of worldly wretchedness. His *conclusio* to Bk III met. 12 exhorts the audience not to do this:

> For ye þat wolde liften vp youre mynde
> Into þe hyhe blisfull souereyn light,
> If ye eftsones turne doun youre sight
> Into þis foule wrecched erthely dell,
> Lo all þat evire youre labour haþ yow dight
> Ye loose it when ye loken into hell. (stanza 9)

In a striking allusion, the prayer which closes the preface resonates emphatically with the language and *sentence* of the Orpheus metre. He beseeches

> . . . þat god of hys benignite
> My [i.e. Walton's] spirit enspire wiþ hys influence;
>
> So þat in schenschip and confusioun
> Of all þis foule worldly wrecchydnesse,

He helpe me in þis occupacioun.
In honour of þat sofferayn blisfulnesse . . . (stanzas 8–9)

All the undesirable affections which Orpheus failed to overcome, 'all þis foule worldly wrecchydnesse', are to be discarded, so Walton intends, in favour of a blessed and sapient instrumentality under the ultimate *summum bonum*, God. This petition, together with the fact of his choice of poetry as the medium for translating Boethius, shows Walton striking the attitude of a late-medieval English 'Sapient Orpheus'.

It may be concluded that there are a number of points about Walton's Boethius worthy of comment. If further proof of his use of Trevet were needed, then his rendering of Bk III met. 12 provides it. In the Orpheus metre at least, it would be somewhat misleading to say that Chaucer's *Boece* was the main source, because Walton used it as a (generally reliable) short cut to Trevet.[31] It would appear that Walton did not follow Chaucer so much as exploit his hard labour, reserving the right to go direct to Trevet, which he does with frequency and discrimination. Many of Walton's words reflect Chaucer's, but the spirit and the *sentence* is from Trevet.

During his exposition of Bk V pr. 3 Walton completes a stanza with a challenge: 'But who can saue it wiþ a better glose?' (stanza 15).[32] His versified

[31] Cf. Minnis, 'Aspects', 343.

[32] I am currently preparing for publication a comparative study of Chaucer's and Walton's expositions of this prosa, entitled 'The "Brigous Questioun" of Predestination and Free-will: Chaucer's *Troilus* and Walton's Boethius Compared'. It is interesting that the famous discussion of free-will and predestination in *Troilus* IV. 974–1078, translated from Bk V pr. 3, has less clarity and elegance than Walton's version which is written in the same stanza-form. This may be illustrated by the difficult passage in which the case of the man sitting on the seat is discussed. Chaucer starts to render this in clogged and convoluted English:

'For if ther sitte a man yond on a see,
Than by necessite biloveth it
That, certes, thyn opynyoun sooth be,
That wenest or conjectest that he sit.' (ll. 1023–6)

Walton translates the meaning more concisely and more clearly:

'As if I sitte and þow supposest it,
Then nedes soth is þyn opinioun.' (stanza 9; p. 293)

Note Walton's intelligent use of 'I', which is simpler than having a third party complicate the argument. A systematic comparison of both renderings in their entirety would substantiate the case that Walton's exposition is superior to the one in *Troilus*. Defenders of Chaucer may wish to argue that the muddle and lack of clarity in this section is a dramatic device illustrating the confusion and distress of Troilus. On the other hand it would be more effective, perhaps, if his plight were expressed clearly. It seems improbable that Chaucer would intentionally render Troilus' bad philosophy in bad verse. Elsewhere in his works it is one of Chaucer's characteristic achievements that he reserves some of his most skilled writing for dubious arguments—as with the Pardoner, for example. There is certainly no warrant for poor writing in the Latin original, in which the character of Boethius utters unenlightened opinions that are always well expressed (in prose and verse) even though Lady Philosophy proceeds to correct them. Likewise, Walton avoids muddle in his rendering of such passages—for instance, Bk I met. 1, a classic poem of Boethian unenlightenment spoken by a wretched and misguided Boethius. In sum, the poor quality of the verse in Troilus' monologue appears to reflect Chaucer's difficulties in translating an abstruse argument into Middle English verse, an undeniably awesome task.

glossing does indeed 'kepe þe sentence in hys trewe entent'. And it would appear that its late-medieval audience found it to be 'a better glose' not only because its *sentence* could be relied on but also because of its palatable verse-form. It is precisely this combination of eloquence and wisdom in Walton's Boethius which, apparently, James I commends at the beginning of *The Kingis Quair*. The king's assessment of his rendering as 'metir suete full of moralitee' would suggest that Walton's rôle as a 'Sapient Orpheus' was no empty posture. It earned royal recognition.[33]

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Professor Michael Alexander, Professor J. A. Burrow, Mr Tony Hunt, Mr George Jack and Dr Clive Sneddon for reading through a draft of this study. In particular I am grateful to Dr Alastair Minnis for his helpful comments during the preparation of this article.

[33] Cf. James Stewart, *The Kingis Quair of James Stewart*, ed. Matthew P. McDiarmid (London: Heinemann, 1973) 78, stanza 4; 118n.

APPENDIX

Here are six further examples of Walton at work as a poet-commentator in the Orpheus metre.

I. FEARLESS BEASTLY COHABITATION

The summary of the behaviour of the animals soothed by Orpheus' measures

> And boldely they dorste togidres dwell
> Pat nevire a beste had of othere feete (stanza 2)

comes neither from Boethius nor from Chaucer but from Trevet's gloss on 'intrepidum latus' (l. 10) which Walton has translated four lines earlier as 'the hare also ne dredde noght a-dell'. Trevet's exposition 'LATUS INTREPIDUM id est sine terrore convivendo' clearly shapes the added lines. This same gloss on peaceful animal cohabitation is still exerting its influence in the next stanza, when 'cuncta subegerant' in

> Nec qui cuncta subegerant
> Mulcerent dominum modi (ll. 16–17)

is rendered 'so many a wylde best / So meke made to lyuen comynly' (stanza 3), in which 'to lyuen comynly' reflects Trevet's 'convivendo'. This rendering also is influenced by Trevet's specific gloss on 'cuncta subegerant': 'CUNCTA SUBEGERANT id est alios homines vicerant ut morigerate viverent' in which 'morigerate' ('meekly'/'obediently') provides warrant for 'meke'.

II. TEACHING AND EXPERIENCE

Boethius' 'Quod luctus dabat inpotens' (l. 24), meaning 'what impotent excessive grief gave', is translated by Walton as 'As sorwe had toght hym be experience' (stanza 4). 'Dabat' is doubleted in Chaucer's *Boece* as 'yeve hym and teche hym' (ll. 26–7). There is no such notion of teaching in Trevet. Walton drops the literal sense of 'dabat' and opts for 'toght' alone. 'Be experience' comes from Trevet's gloss on the next line, 'quod luctum geminans amor', which is about love doubling the grief of Orpheus. Trevet's gloss

'AMOR GEMINANS LUCTUM presencia enim nociui causat simplicem luctum' says that experience of his predicament caused Orpheus grief. It is this notion of experience that Walton adds to his original.

III. SLEEPING CERBERUS

Walton's Cerberus 'þat woned was to wake' is made by Orpheus' poetry 'to falle on-slepe' (stanza 5). The dog does not fall asleep, as such, in Boethius, Chaucer or Trevet. Perhaps this added somnolence came from Walton's knowledge of the *Aeneid* Bk VI when Aeneas is in the Underworld with the priestess Deiphobe. When they come across Cerberus they tackle him in this way.

> But the Priestess, seeing that the snakes of his mane were beginning to bristle, threw before him a morsel, which she had charged with drowsiness from honey and drugged corn. Opening wide his three throats, the dog, being mad with hunger, seized the offered food, and relaxing his giant back he sprawled all his length across the floor of the cave. Now that the guardian was unconscious, Aeneas dashed to the cave and quickly escaped . . .[34]

Here, Walton provides his own additional commentary.

IV. FURIES AND SINNERS

Boethius' Furies avenge crimes ('scelerum' (l. 32)). Chaucer's avenge 'felonyes' (l. 34). Walton's avenge 'synne' (stanza 6), a rather more Christian word indicating a generalised theological concept instead of a series of criminal incidents. This alteration may have been influenced by Trevet's rather liturgical gloss in which the three sisters are associated with the three categories of sin, i.e. sin in thought, in word and in deed:

> Deinde describit aliud monstrum, ubi notandum quod omne scelus vel est in cogitacione vel in sermone vel in opere, propter quod ponuntur esse tres dee sceleris que propter connexionem istorum ad invicem dicuntur esse sorores.

Trevet's Furies are united in a sisterhood of 'synne'; hence Walton's use of the singular.

Trevet associates this trio with the sinful excesses of the *affectus*, namely anger, cupidity and lust: 'Allecto . . . significat cupiditatem, Thesiphone . . . significat libidinem, Megera . . . significat iram.' Perhaps this influenced Walton to introduce a named class of sinners, 'surfetoures', who are indeed chained to 'worldly wrecchidnesse' (stanza 1).

[34] Cf. the Penguin Classics edition, *Virgil: The Aeneid*, trans. W. F. Jackson Knight (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958) 159–60.

'Surfetoures smyten so wiþ feere' translates Boethius' 'sontes agitant metu' (l. 31), with 'agitant' ('torment'/'vex') becoming 'smyten'. Perhaps Walton has been influenced by the word 'feriant' in Trevet's 'que ideo Furie appellantur quod stimulis suis mentem feriant . . .' and has taken 'feriant' as part of *ferio, -ire*, 'to strike'.

V. POETIC FOOD FOR A VULTURE OF CULTURE

Now we shall discuss the lines which deal with the gruesome punishment of Tityus who, for his sins, had to endure a vulture continually tearing at his liver. On hearing Orpheus' measures the vulture ceases this torment. Boethius describes this remarkable event thus:

> Vultur dum satur est modis,
> Non traxit Ticii iecur. (ll. 38–9)

Walton's syntax does not follow that of the original:

> The gryp þat ete þe mawe of Tycius
> And tired on it longe tyme before,
> This song to hym was so delicius
> He left it of and tired it no more. (stanza 7)

It has a greater resemblance to Chaucer's rendering, which is as follows:

> The foul that highte voltor, that 'etith the stomak or the gyser of Tycius, is so fulfild of his song that it nil eten ne tiren no more. (ll. 40–43)

Chaucer translates 'vultur' as 'the foul that highte voltor' (ll. 40–1), a doublet of transliteration-plus-gloss which would seem to indicate that 'vultur' was an unusual word. Walton uses the better known 'gryp' (stanza 7), as does Henryson in his version of the story.[35] Not wishing to get caught up in anatomical pedantries, Walton translates 'iecur', strictly speaking 'liver', as 'mawe' (stanza 7). Trevet went to the trouble of glossing 'iecur' as 'epar', so it might have been a 'hard word'. Since Chaucer renders it 'the stomak or the gyser', Walton had a vernacular precedent for a certain amount of alimentary generalisation. Walton also informs us that 'the gryp þat ete þe mawe of Tityus . . . tired on it longe tyme before'. There is no reference in either Boethius or Chaucer to his long time before. It may be an expansion of Trevet's 'ipsum iecur continue depascit', which states that Tityus' liver was *continually* devoured.

In Walton's treatment of the *narratio* there is an intention to heighten the emphasis on the status of Orpheus as a poet (see above, pp. 150–2). This intention affects even the 'gryp'. Boethius' vulture is 'satur' ('filled'/'sated') with Orpheus' measures. Chaucer, in similar vein, renders 'satur' as 'so fulfild' (l. 42). By contrast, Walton's 'gryp' finds the song 'so delicius', appreciating quality rather than quantity, and is truly a vulture of taste rather than a 'gloton of wordes'. This added emphasis on the sense of taste is in line with the additional 'swete' in 'swete songes' (stanza 4) and the point that Orpheus

[35] Cf. 'Orpheus and Eurydice' (l. 560) in *The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. Fox, 151.

tasted, rather than drew, eloquence from the three wells of Calliope (stanza 4) (see pp. 151–2 above). Also, 'delicius' rhymes nicely with 'Tycius'. ⟶

VI. THE JUDGE OF SHADES, OF SOULS, OR OF HELL-PAINS?

Boethius' 'arbiter umbrarum' (ll. 40–1), rendered by Chaucer 'lord and juge of soules' (l. 44), is translated by Walton as 'þe juge of helle peynes strong' (stanza 7). Strictly speaking, he judges souls, not punishments. Walton's translation would appear to be a condensation of Trevet's gloss on 'arbiter umbrarum':

> TANDEM ARBITER UMBRARUM *id* est Radamantus (secundum commentatorem) qui apud inferos dicitur animas cogere ad fatendum commissum et uniculque secundum merita penas distribuere.

Rhadamanthus distributes punishments ('penas distribuere'). Walton acquires 'peynes' from Trevet's 'penas', and thus Rhadamanthus becomes the 'juge' of those 'peynes'.

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GLOSSARY OF LATIN TERMS

In compiling this glossary I have made use of the index of Latin terms in Minnis, pp.312-6.

accessus prologue, introduction

actor writer, in contrast with *auctor*

affectus affections, affective disposition of the soul

aspectus gaze of the intellect

assertor one who asserts

auctor author

auctoritas authority, a portion of an authoritative text or saying of an *auctor*

capitulum chapter-division, or summary of chapter

causa efficiens efficient cause, i.e. writer, author

duplex causa efficiens twofold efficient cause, i.e. twofold authorship, e.g. God and an inspired human author

causa finalis final cause, purpose

causa formalis formal cause, form

causa materialis material cause, subject matter, sources

characteres scripturae styles of writing ('exegematic' when the *auctor* speaks in his own person, 'dramatic' when he speaks in the persons of others, and 'mixed' when both styles are used)

colum punctuable unit of discourse complete in construction but incomplete in exposition of a significant thought

coma punctuable unit of discourse incomplete in both meaning and construction

commentator commentator

commentum commentary

compilatio compilation

compilator compiler

conclusio conclusion

constructibilia constructibles, i.e. words as members of

grammatical classes constructing discourse

cuí parti philosophiae supponitur to which part of learning/philosophy the work belongs

divisio division of a book into parts; division of literary materials

divisio textus division of the text for the purposes of commentary

duplex causa efficiens see under *causa efficiens*

expositio exposition, interpretation, commentary

expositio sententie exposition of meaning/teaching

expositio sententie per aliam linguam exposition of the meaning/teaching through/by another language

expositor one who expounds a text

forma literary form; *duplex forma* twofold form, i.e. both structure and manner of proceeding; *forma tractandi* form of treatment; *forma tractatus* form of the treatise, structure

glos(s)a gloss, commentary

imaginatio imagination, meditation

ingressus introduction, prologue

intellectus intellect, intellective part of the soul

intentio intention, purpose; *intentio auctoris* intention, purpose of the author

interpres translator, interpreter

introitus introduction, prologue

ipsissima verba the actual words of a text

lectio the reading of a text prior to meditation or exposition

lectoris arbitrium freedom of the reader

littera the letter, word-for-word construction, literal meaning

materia subject matter, sources; introductory material, i.e. prologue; *materia communis/exsecuta* known or common literary or poetic material which has already been accorded literary or poetic treatment

meditatio meditation

modus agendi/procedendi/scribendi/tractandi manner of literary procedure or treatment

modus essendi mode of being

modus excerptoris mode or manner of excerptor (of materials)

modus intelligendi mode of understanding

modus significandi mode of signifying

moralisatio moralisation drawn from text

narratio narration, narrative section of text

nomen auctoris name of the author

nomen libri name or title of a book

officium praedicatoris office of preacher

oratio prayer

ordinatio arrangement of parts of a work or book

ordo artificialis artificial narrative order

ordo libri the ordering of material in a book

ordo naturalis natural or historical narrative order

originalia whole works of authority in unabridged form

pausa constans punctuable unit of discourse incomplete in both meaning and construction [cf. *colum*

pausa finitiva punctuable unit of discourse containing a complete thought [cf. *periodus and sententia*]

pausa suspensiva punctuable unit of discourse incomplete in both meaning and construction [cf. *coma*]

parabola parable, similitude, comparison of dissimilar things

periodus period, unit of discourse containing a complete significant thought [cf. *sententia* and *pausa finitiva*]

persona narrative persona

prefacio preface, prologue, introduction

profundior intelligentia deeper understanding

prohemium proem, prologue, introduction

prologus prologue, introduction

recapitulatio recapitulation

recitatio recounting, repeating, reporting

reportatio reporting

scriptor scribe

sensus sense, meaning, the open meaning of a statement or text not necessarily needing an act of further exposition for the purposes of elucidation; *sensus literalis* literal sense intended by the human author

sententia meaning, teaching, deeper understanding; a punctuable unit of discourse containing a complete thought [cf. *pausa finitiva* and *periodus*]; *sententia litterae* the teaching or meaning proceeding from the literal sense

signum efficiens sign creating what it signifies

titulus title, name of a work

translatio translation; transferred sense; metaphor; unusual or defamiliarising use of language

translator translator

utilitas utility, usefulness, value of a text

vita auctoris life of the author

GLOSSARY OF MIDDLE ENGLISH TERMS

In compiling this glossary I have made indirect use of the index of Latin terms in Minnis, pp.312-6.

affecciouns affections, affective disposition of the soul

assertour one who asserts

auctoritee authority, a portion of an authoritative text or saying of an *auctor*

auctour author

cause effycient see *effycient cause*

cause formal see *formal cause*

cause fynal see *fynal cause*

cause materyal see *materyal cause*

chapitle chapter-division, summary of chapter

compilacioun compilation

compilatour compiler

conclusioun conclusion

drawe translate; *drawe from latyn into Englyshe* translate from Latin into English; *drawere out* translator; *drawynge owt*

effycient cause efficient cause, i.e. writer, author

ekenn...amang see *in-echen*

entent intention, purpose

estories see *storye*

exposicioun exposition, interpretation

expositour one who expounds a text, commentator

formal cause formal cause, form

forme form; *forme of procedyng* manner of writing, literary procedures

foure causys the Aristotelian four causes of a text [see *efficyent cause*; *formal cause*; *fynal cause*; *materyal cause*]

fruyte profit, value of a work

fynal cause final cause, purpose

glose gloss

in-echen (also *ekenn...amang*) insert additional explanatory words amongst the words of a text or source

interpretour translator, interpreter

kindell ordre narration following the natural or historical order of events

lessoun reading for the purposes of interpretation

lettre letter, i.e. word-for-word construction or meaning

lettural vnderstandynge the meaning or teaching proceeding from the literal sense

lore teaching

manere manner of literary procedure or treatment; *manere of lare* literary procedure or form used to communicate teaching

matere subject matter, sources

materyal cause material cause, subject matter, sources

meditacioun meditation

origynals whole unabridged works of an author

persoun narrative persona

prefacyon preface, proem, prologue, introduction

profyte the profit or value of a literary work

proheme proem, prologue, introduction

recapitulacioun recapitulation

rehersynge citation, reporting

sense the meaning intended by the author

sentence meaning, teaching, deeper understanding

showe expound, clarify, demonstrate

storye history, historical sense of Scripture; *estories* portions of historical Biblical narrative

tabyl table of chapter summaries

tityl title

translacioun translation

translatour translator

ymaginacioun imagination, meditation; a passage of meditative or imaginative writing